

EMIGRATION

FROM THE BRITISH ISLES.

1815-1921.

BY

W.A. CARROTHERS, B.A., D.F.C., Croix de Guerre.



CHAPTER. I. INTRODUCTORY.

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The modern period of emigration begins with the close of the Napoleonic War. The last hundred years has witnessed the greatest migration of people in the history of the world. This migration has been none the less important because it has been peaceful. Since 1820 the United States has received thirty million emigrants from Europe, and four million from other sources.^{1.} Southern Europe has sent its millions to South America. Emigrants from the British Isles have built up the great British Commonwealth. The westward movement of the peoples which was stopped by the stormy Atlantic again set in, and has been accelerated by the development of the means of transport.

Previous emigration in modern times may be accounted for largely by religious or political causes, but the impulse to the world's greatest migration has been chiefly economic. Distress or the fear of distress, or hope of greater advancement, have been the motives which have animated the millions who have faced the dangers of the seas, and risked a new life in new worlds.

This study is concerned with the part taken in this migration by the British Isles. Emigrants from the British Isles have had much to do with the building up of the United States of America, and have founded the great British Dominions. In 1763 it looked as though the whole of the North American Continent would be British. A large emigration set in, particularly from the north of Scotland and from Ireland. Accurate statistics are not available, but it was estimated that over 40,000 people left the

1. The Migration of the Races. The Round Table. March. 1921.

ports of the province of Ulster during the five years 1769-1774. These sturdy Ulster-Scots formed an important element in the American Colonies, and "the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians!" Their emigration had been due to the political disabilities under which they lived^{1.} because of their Presbyterianism. But the economic disabilities of Ireland^{in Ireland} gave a still greater impetus to emigration. Numbers of Celtic Irish were driven by distress and want to settle in Newfoundland, where they played an important part. Later some of these migrated to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and were the first of the Celtic Irish to settle on the American continent.^{2.}

In Scotland many of the Highlanders emigrated after the "Fortyfive" owing to the breaking up of the clan system. Higher rents were now demanded. The tacksmen, who were mostly the younger sons of chieftains, had enjoyed leases under very favourable terms, and had maintained something of chieftain splendour. "Under the new system leases are granted, but granted on rents which represent, or are intended to represent, the economic value of the land. These leases are granted to a much wider class, and so far diminish the profit and the prestige of those who had formerly held tacks. Again, the practice of subsetting was abolished, or the services which might be exacted from subtenants limited. Some of the subtenants were promoted at

1. History of the United States. Bancroft. Vol. IV. P. 55

2. Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Vol. V. P. 120, 139

The Annual Register in 1815 records a large emigration from Ireland to Newfoundland in that year. "In St John's alone, exclusive of three vessels which made no returns, 3026 men and 373 women arrived, but, it added, 'the numbers far exceed the returns, the captains having brought out so many that they are ashamed to return them'".

Smart. Economic Annals. Vol. I. P. 440.

once to the dignity of leaseholders. Finally the whole relations of landlord and tacksmen were put on a simple business footing, thereby extinguishing the tacksman's partial sense of ownership, and the half traditional tie of kinship. The tacksmen, in fact, ceased to form a special and privileged class. Their status was lowered as that of the undertenants was raised.¹ This process was particularly rapid in the sixties and seventies of the eighteenth century. While some of the tacksmen remained and accepted the new conditions, ~~some~~ others preferred^r to try their fortunes in a new country. With the idea of transferring the old social life across the seas they persuaded many of their Highland followers to accompany them. Most of these emigrants were from the Islands, but the glens on the mainland contributed their quota. Some of the ships sailed from the ports of Glasgow or Greenock, but more often the silent Highland lochs were disturbed by the departure of the adventurers, who aimed at re-establishing clan life in Carolina, Albany, or Nova Scotia. Many of them carried with them considerable sums of money, and while there were cases of poverty these were the exceptions.²

When Canada had been taken from the French in 1763, free grants of land were given to officers and men who had served in the war. The Frasers and Montgomeries were the first to settle, and later they raised a regiment to defend the country in 1775 against the American invaders. After the American War of Independence many Highlanders who had settled in the New England Colonies moved

1. The Highland Emigration of 1770. by Margaret I. Adam, in the Scottish Historical Review. July, 1919.

2. Emigrants from Sutherland between 1768 and 1772 took with them £10,000. 425 persons who sailed from Maryburgh in 1773 took £6,000, and in 1792 it was stated that £38,000 had been taken from the country since 1772 by emigrants from West Ross-shire and Inverness-shire alone. Ibid. P283.

north to Canada and settled in what has become Glengarry County in Ontario. Further parties from their native glen joined them. In 1785 over 500 emigrated from Glengarry in Scotland. In 1802 the "Glengarry Fencibles" were disbanded, and, emigrating in a body, settled beside their kinsmen. Lord Selkirk was at this time interested in emigration, and in 1803 took a party of Highlanders in three ships, and settled them on Prince Edward Island.

A new force now appears in Scotland driving men and women across the seas, namely, the "Clearances". The most famous of these, the Sutherland clearances, began in 1807, and were at their height in 1811. Lord Selkirk conceived the scheme of leasing lands on the Red River, in what is now Manitoba, and transporting the ~~evicted~~ evicted crofters thither. He visited the evicted Highlanders and persuaded them to form the Red River Settlement. The settlers met with opposition from the fur traders across whose routes their settlement lay. They were driven from their settlement, and many of them wandered east and settled in Ontario. Some remained, but the settlement was not a success until the opening of the West almost sixty years later.

Another coloniser was Colonel Talbot, who about the same time collected a colony of about 2000 from various parts of the British Isles and settled them at Port Talbot on the shores of Lake Erie. He continued to add to the settlement until within ten years he had 12,000 people on his estates.

It was these early settlers in Canada who prepared the way for the large numbers who arrived after 1815. The United Empire

Loyalists from the south, to whom the new republican institutions did not appeal, laid the foundations of a national sentiment of loyalty to the Throne which has done more to mould Canadian public opinion than any other force. They left their homes in the revolted colonies, and blazing new trails in the forests of Canada, contended again with nature with a dogged perseverance until success crowned their labours. The same spirit was manifested by those who joined them from the Mother country, and the sound of the axe heralded the birth of a new nation.

The recognition of the independence of the American colonies made it impossible to continue sending convicts there from the British Isles. The problem of providing for the convicts was a serious one. Several expedients were suggested, and some of them tried and found unsatisfactory. A suggestion which had been made in 1779 was revived, and in 1787 a convict colony was founded at Botany Bay. But behind the desire to get rid of the convicts, and relieve the congestion in English gaols, there was a vision of empire.¹ Many of the convicts were not criminals in the ordinary sense, and when liberated they took up land and entered the ranks of the empire builders. The first free settler was an ex-convict who in 1789 took land at Paramatta. Others followed his example. In 1793 five immigrants settled on "Liberty Plains", and about the same time some ex-marines and ex-soldiers settled on the "Field of Mars", both of which now form part of Sydney. Ten years later there were 328 free settlers,² the majority of whom were ex-convicts. Other settlements were formed

1. Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Vol. VI. Pt. I. P. 48-49.

2. Ibid. P. 56.

(6)

in Tasmania. The early years~~s~~ were filled with difficulties, and it was even proposed to abandon Australia as a penal colony. But the introduction of sheep created a new vision of prosperity, and imperial ambition was strengthened by the war with France. Australia had to wait, but her day was assured. That day dawned with the coming of Wakefield and the "colonisers".

From 1783 there were restrictions on the emigration of skilled workmen. In that year an Act was passed which made it illegal for artisans to be taken from any part of the British Isles to any foreign country. ^{1.} Opinions differed as to the effect of this Act on emigration. While it may have served as a deterrent in some cases, large numbers of skilled workmen emigrated, especially to France, and the chief work of the Act was to create the necessity for evading it. Heavy penalties were imposed on those persuading a workman to emigrate, but the penalties on the workmen themselves were slight, and they could be avoided altogether by simply not returning. The Act ² was an inconvenience and an interference with the liberty of the subject. It was designed for the protection of British inventions, the knowledge of which was carried to other countries by workmen who had become familiar with them. After 1815 the position of British industry was more or less assured, and the need for this protection was less. Further the distress which arose especially among the hand-loom weavers, which was due largely to the introduction of machinery revealed the need for a policy of free emigration. The

1. The 23rd of Geo. III. c. 13. The first Act restricting the emigration of skilled workmen was passed in 1719, and referred particularly to artificers in the woollen trade. Successive Acts were passed extending the application of the restrictions until in 1783 all manufactures were included.

2. Report of Select Committee on Emigration of Artisans, Export of Machinery, and the Combination Laws. 1824.

Act failed to hinder foreign countries from learning the secrets of the new British inventions, and thus did not accomplish the end for which it had been enacted. It was suggested that its operation should be suspended in favour of the distressed weavers. Finally, on the recommendation of the Select Committee presided over by Hume, it was repealed in 1824.

The story of the emigration from the British Isles during the past hundred years presents many varied pictures. The most outstanding feature of the movement is the heroism, and tenacity of purpose of the pioneers. The dark side of the story is found in the distress which gave rise to so much of the emigration. The success of the emigrants across the seas is a more pleasant picture. But that success was hard won. A study of the beginnings of things is always interesting. It is sometimes difficult to realise that the beginnings of the present British Commonwealth are so recent. We are so engrossed with the history of the past that we find it difficult to realise the significance of the history of the present. The victory over France in 1763 left Britain the mightiest power in the world, with an Empire ready-made in India, and one in the making on the continent of North America. The revolt of the American colonies destroyed the Empire in the making. But there were still the vast unpeopled spaces of Canada, and Australasia. South Africa was to be added in 1814. Out of these vast territories has grown the present Commonwealth of Nations. This has been the work of the emigrants. They went out, some in the spirit of adventure, others to find bread, and changed the wilderness into a

garden. They carried with them the British love of liberty, and side by side with the growth of democracy in the home land, they developed the democracies of the Dominions. We are still in the days of beginnings, and there is yet work for the pioneer. But the foundations have been laid deep and strong, and the broad outlines of the superstructure can be seen. The completion of that superstructure is the work of the twentieth century. Millions of people can be supported where now there are thousands. Future possibilities could hardly be exaggerated. But we must not delay with what may be.

Malthusianism and Emigration.

During the long war which came to an end in 1815 an unnatural condition had been created in the social life of Great Britain. Apart from the war it was a period of change and readjustment. The improved methods of production in industry had made it possible for Great Britain to stand the strain of supporting her own armies in the field, and at the same time to give assistance to her allies. The war had influenced both the character and the volume of production. It had caused a need for greater production, and ~~it had~~ had also directed production into war channels. Readjustment was found to be difficult. In the midst of the difficulties of change due to the Industrial Revolution was introduced a still more abnormal situation.

It was the age when men had almost implicit faith in the inherent power of things to right themselves. No preparations were made to deal with the situation. The country was allowed to drift into a condition of social chaos.

During the war population had greatly increased. It is ~~is~~ estimated that the increase in the population of the United Kingdom during the first twenty years of the 19th century was as great as that during the last fifty years of the 18th. ⁽¹⁾ The population of Great Britain in 1801 was 10,491,536, in 1811 it had risen to 12,596,803, in 1821 it had reached 14,391,631, and in 1831 it was 16,530,318. The population of Ireland was estimated to be about 4,088,226 in 1791, and 5,400,000 in 1804. In 1821, when the first official census was taken it was 6,801,827, and in 1831 it was 7,765,481. ^{2.}

(1) Spencer Walpole. History of England. Vol. 1. P108.
(2) Porter. Progress of the Nation. & Evidence of Sir H. Parnell before 1827 Committee

With the end of the war the need for the production of war materials ceased and many were thrown out of employment. In addition to these about half a million ex-soldiers were released to flood the already overcrowded labour market. The prevailing distress was intensified by the unfavourable seasons from 1816 to 1818 which caused the failure of the crops, and made it impossible for the farmers to employ as much labour as in the previous years.

The increase in population had been due to a number of causes. Trade, industry and agriculture had been flourishing owing to the war expenditure. The country was enjoying an artificial prosperity. ~~Unemployment and distress~~. The possibility of this condition of things not continuing did not occur to those who formed the mass of the people and no thought was taken of the morrow. In some instances the fact that a man having three children was excused from service in the militia hastened the increase in the population. An important factor in England was the Poor Law administration which entitled a man to a minimum subsistence. As ^{minimum of} this subsistence increased with the increase in the numbers in the family an impetus was given to the growth of population. In Ireland the system of sub-letting, and in Scotland the crofter system led to early marriages and rapid increase in population in these countries. The Poor Law of England had also an influence on the increase of population in Ireland as large numbers of the Irish migrated to England and by crushing out the English workmen received an indirect benefit from the English Poor Law. ²

The financial situation had a vital influence on the labour market. After the war the prices of agricultural products

1. *Social & Industrial History of England, 1816-1918.* J. F. Rus. P. 27.

2. Report of Committee on Colonisation, 1827. and Hints on Emigration as the means of effecting the Repeal of the Poor Laws, 1828.

had fallen in some instances as much as 50 per cent.¹ This added to the already existing agricultural depression. The inflation of the currency and the consequent depreciation in the value of money caused serious disturbance in the financial world which had its influence on trade and industry, and consequently on employment. The attempts to restore the value of the currency following the war served temporarily to increase this disturbance. "The departure from the ancient standard, in proportion as it was prejudicial to all creditors of money and persons dependent on fixed incomes, was a benefit to the active capitalists of this country; and it cannot be denied that the restoration of that standard has in its turn been proportionately disadvantageous to many individuals belonging to the productive classes of the community and especially to those who had engaged in speculative adventures of farming or of trade." Such was the opinion of the Select Committee on Agriculture in 1821, and the ~~the~~ same view was taken by the Committee on Agriculture in 1833, which reported that "the depreciation and the restoration of the value of money consequent on the Bank Restriction Act of 1797, have unsettled the habits, disturbed the fixed engagements, and injured alternately the interests of large classes of the community."

At this time two theories associated with the name of Malthus were almost universally accepted. These were his theory of population, and the wage-fund theory. These theories had undoubtedly

1. Report of Committee on Agriculture. 1821.
 2. The Industrial Revolution. Toynbee. Page 86 foll. also
 Cunningham. Growth of English Industry and Commerce.
 Part 2. P. 740. foll.

considerable influence on the manner in which the situation arising out of the war was dealt with. Malthus held that population continually tended to outstrip the means of subsistence as population increases in geometrical progression while subsistence increases only in arithmetical progression. Population increases until it passes the subsistence point when various checks commence to operate until population is again below the subsistence level. This process goes on continually and no legislation or arrangement of society can prevent its operation.^{1.} The wage-fund theory had also great influence at this period. Briefly stated it is that at any given time there is a fixed sum available as wages, and that this sum cannot be augmented. The amount that each wage-earner receives depends upon the number having a claim on this fund. Both these theories influenced emigration policy during the twenties. Malthus himself was a principal witness before the Committee on Colonisation in 1827, and great prominence was given to his economic doctrines, although he did not think that emigration would provide a permanent relief for redundant population as the vacuum created would soon fill up again.^{2.}

A somewhat modified form of the doctrine of Malthus on the growth of population was adopted by Robert John Wilmot Horton, who entered the House of Commons in 1814, and became Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in 1822. He held that population might be redundant in relation to the means of employment without actually being redundant in relation to the means of subsistence.^{3.} He maintained that this was the condition of things in the United Kingdom, and that the remedy lay in removing the surplus population

1. The Law of Population. 1st Edition 1797. 6th Edition 1817.

2. Report of Select Committee on Colonisation. 1827.

3. Ireland and Canada. 1839. Causes and Remedies of Pauperism. 1830.

to those parts of the empire where if employment did not already exist it could be created more easily and with greater advantage than in the United Kingdom. If employment could not be found in the existing settlements in the colonies provision could be made for placing the emigrant on the virgin soil where he would create his own employment, and in a short space of time provide subsistence for himself and his family.¹

McCulloch held that "the market rate of wages is exclusively dependent on the proportion which the capital of the country, or the means of employing labour, bears to the number of labourers. There is plainly, therefore, only one way of improving the condition of the greater majority of the community, or of the labouring class, and that is by increasing the ratio of capital to population."² As it was not possible to regulate this ratio during a time of unemployment either by rapidly reducing the population, or by increasing capital, Wilmot Horton held that the only immediately effective remedy was

emigration. His general views on the subject are clearly expressed in a letter written in 1829 in which he states "I am prepared to show that there does exist in the United Kingdom a portion of its population in excess:- that this portion is now dependent for support, directly as in England, and indirectly as in Ireland, on the general wealth of the community: and that as this portion of the community produces nothing, and consumes necessarily to the extent

2. Political Economy. McCulloch. 1824.

1. Letter to N. Senior from Wilmot Horton. 1829.

"of the food lodging and clothing indispensable to its being maintained in existence, a tax to that extent is paid by the community. I am prepared to show that the grounds upon which I form the opinion that the paupers who form this redundant portion of the community can be supported more economically, with reference to the national revenue, and more advantageously with reference to their own interests, in some of the colonies of Great Britain, than in the mother country." He considered that there was no reason to apprehend that the vacuum thus created would fill up at all in proportion to the number emigrated, but even though it should fill up "it could not, by the physical laws of nature, be filled up until the saving of the expense now incurred in the maintenance of this pauper population at home had far exceeded the necessary capital for their colonisation abroad."¹

The opinion of those who, in the twenties advocated emigration as a remedy for redundant population was that the Poor Law system was an unnecessarily expensive method of supporting the unemployed, or partially employed surplus. By calculating the expense of removing this surplus and settling the emigrants on the soil it was concluded that to bring about such a removal at the national ~~expense~~ expense would actually be a financial gain to the nation. In addition, these paupers who were merely consumers of what others were producing would become producers. Their settlement in the colonies would make possible the exploitation of the resources of the colonies, and raw material could be marketed in the mother country. A surplus of food would also be produced in the

1. Letter to C. Poulett Thomson. Dec. 1st. 1829.

colonies. The marketing of this agricultural produce, and raw material in Great Britain would give greater employment in the mother country and so provide additional relief at home.

While the interests of the emigrants were not entirely lost sight of, the main argument in favour of emigration by the state was the financial gain that would result from the removal of the pauper population. It was considered that if a proportion of the pauper population were to drop completely out of existence it would be an economic gain to the state. Population as such was of no value; its value lay in its productivity. ¹.

Those who opposed emigration as a remedy advocated such a readjustment of things in Great Britain as would provide a greater amount of employment. They argued that there was sufficient waste land in the United Kingdom to provide for the surplus population, and there was no need for emigration to the waste lands in the colonies. ² However these lands had already been appropriated, and the ^{ir}reclamation was ruled out as being more expensive than the settlement of the waste lands in the colonies which were not appropriated. X.

The funds necessary to carry out this state-aided and state-directed emigration were to be raised by borrowing on the security of the Poor Rates. Arrangements were to be made for re-payment of the advances made to the emigrants. It was thought that at the end of four years the settler would be in a position to commence re-payment. Emigration was to be voluntary, but every inducement was to be given to paupers to take advantage of the scheme.

1. Report of Committee on Colonisation. 1826.

2. No emigration. 1828. A pamphlet.

Malthus suggested that no poor relief should be granted to those born after a certain date, and that relief should be withdrawn from those refusing to emigrate. As the aim of the scheme was to relieve the pressure on the Poor Rates it was to be confined solely to paupers. The destination of the emigrants depended on the cost of transportation. Canada was chosen because its greater proximity made removal there cheaper than to any other colony. McCulloch considered that a colonist was of the same value to the mother country even when settling outside the empire. Wilmot Horton disagreed with this idea, but it is doubtful if his patriotism would have overcome his desire for economy had it not been the case that it was actually cheaper to send emigrants to Canada than to the United States.¹

Wilmot Horton succeeded in 1823 in securing a government grant to carry out an experiment along the lines of his scheme for the emigration of paupers. The poor in Ireland were chosen for the experiment, and the colony was transported to Canada in 1823. A further experiment on a somewhat larger scale was made in 1825. Select Committees were appointed in 1826, and again in 1827 to enquire into the whole question. The social condition of the United Kingdom was carefully examined, and also the possibilities for settlement in the various colonies. The Committee of 1826 reported "that there are extensive districts in Ireland, and districts in England and Scotland, where the population is at the present moment redundant; in other words, where there exists a very considerable proportion of able-bodied and active labourers, beyond the number to which any existing demand for labour can afford employment." Labour being

1. Report of Committee. 1826

subject to the law of supply and demand like any other commodity the effect of this redundancy was considered to be the lowering of wages and the deterioration of the general condition of the labouring classes. The Committee further reported "that in the British Colonies in North America (including the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island) at the Cape of Good Hope, and in New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, there are tracts of unappropriated land of the most fertile quality, capable of receiving and subsisting any proportion of the redundant population of this country, for whose conveyance thither, means could be found at any time, present or future." They recommended state-aided and State-directed emigration as a means of producing greater social stability and prosperity. This emigration should be voluntary, and confined to paupers. Emphasis was laid on repayment of the funds advanced to the settlers. The money thus returned could be applied to the Colony for purposes already being financed by the Imperial Exchequer. In Ireland and Scotland there being no Poor Rate to serve as security for a government advance they considered that the co-operation of the landlords might be obtained as it would be a gain to them to have the surplus population removed.

The Committee of 1827 supported the conclusions of the Committee of the previous year. A full report of the experiments of 1823 and 1825 was laid before the Committee which show that considerable success had attended the efforts of the colonists. Wilmot Horton concluded that the time had arrived to launch a scheme of emigration of such proportions as to have a real effect on the labour situation. In the same year Colonel Cockburn was sent on

a mission to make a survey of 300,000 acres of land in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, and to make a detailed estimate of the cost of transporting a colony of 2000 heads of families, or approximately 10,000 persons, to a settlement and providing for them for one year. This report was presented in 1828, and contains considerable information as to the lands available in the above provinces.

On 17th. April 1828 Wilmot Horton introduced a Bill into the House of Commons "to enable parishes to mortgage their poor rates for the purpose of providing for their able-bodied paupers, by colonisation in the British Colonies." A loan was to be advanced by the government on the security of the poor rate. Paupers were to be actually settled on the land and not merely conveyed to the colony as labourers. ^{1.} The Bill was thrown out. He again introduced it in 1830, but the Bill did not reach the second reading. In 1831 a similar Bill was introduced by Lord Howick, but the House had other things to think of, and it too ~~was~~ was not read a second time.

In 1831 Wilmot Horton, after receiving a knighthood, went to Ceylon as Governor. He remained there until 1838. In 1839 he published a pamphlet entitled "Ireland and Canada", in which he advocated measures of emigration similar to those he had supported while at the Colonial Office. However he failed to catch the public ear. There seemed then to be still greater indifference to emigration by the state than in the Twenties, and the field, such as it was, was held by Wakefield. The publisher of "Ireland and Canada" succeeded in selling only 38 copies, and Wilmot Horton withdrew the remainder from his tables and sent them for distribution in Canada.

1. Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism. 1830.

here a greater interest was taken in problems of emigration. 1.

During this period there were many who opposed the theories of Malthus on population, and who did not think that emigration was a remedy for the social ills of the time. The chief spokesmen of this party were Michael Thomas Sadler, and William Cobbett. Sadler, in 1829, published a work entitled "Ireland, its evils, and their remedies", and in 1830 appeared his "Law of Population", in which by elaborate statistics he attempted to show the errors in the teaching of Malthus. He held that population preceded and created subsistence, and that the wealth of a country lay in its population, and not in the richness of its soil. Against emigration he adduced the scriptural injunction to "dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed." Horton replied that this applied only to those who "trust in the Lord, and do good", and pointed out that no particular land was specified. Wakefield, whose ideas on colonisation were also opposed by Sadler, replied more vigorously that the poor dwell in the land, but "verily they are not fed". Little public ^{interest} was taken in the controversy, and it was soon forgotten. Cobbett denied redundancy of population, and held that a numerous population was a good rather than an evil. Emigration schemes were merely to relieve the poor rate, and provide cargo for the shipowners. Surplus population was not the cause of distress, but bad laws, and the remedy lay in changing these. 2.

By 1832 when the Emigration Commissioners issued their report the schemes of Wilmot Horton found no favour. The Commissioners, while recommending that information should be given to intending emigrants, thought that the benefits of self-reliance and initiative

1 Correspondence between Wilmot Horton, and J. Beverley Robinson on "Ireland and Canada." 1839.

2 Weekly Political Register. In 1829, Cobbett published "The Emigrants' Guide". In it he recommended emigration to the United States, but it was only because he considered conditions in England to be hopeless. He was still opposed to the principles of emigration. He also considered Government to be worse than in England.

were greater than any good that would accrue from government assistance. Further, they considered that any scheme of assisted emigration which would be really useful would cost so much that no government could carry it through. It was at this stage, when there was no hope of adequate assistance for emigration from the mother country that Wakefield appeared with his scheme for providing a fund for emigration from the sale of the waste lands in the colonies.

1. Report of the Commissioners of Emigration to the Colonial Office. 1832.

1. There were chiefly distinguished French, and British, American, Italian, and other emigrants.
2. Report of the Commissioners of Emigration to the Colonial Office, 1832.
3. Report of the Select Committee on the Poor in Holland, 1831.

Emigration in the Malthusian Period. - 1815-1831.

In 1814 the Cape of Good Hope was finally ceded to Great Britain, and almost before the ink was dried on the official document thought in Great Britain was directed to the Cape as providing a field for emigration. Its climate was attractive, and its situation was important being on the route to India and the Australian Colonies. In 1818 between 200 and 300 emigrants from Nottinghamshire landed at Algoa Bay. The movement was not particularly popular, and little success attended it.¹ In 1820 a South African landowner named Ingram approached the British government for assistance in the removal of labourers to his estates in the Cape of Good Hope. This assistance was refused, but he was given permission to take to the Cape as many Irish as he could persuade to go. Ingram was to advance the passage money, and the emigrants agreed to serve him for three years, and at the end of that time to receive £10, or twenty acres of land. In 1820 68 souls, men, women, and children were taken out from the south of Ireland. A larger party followed later consisting of 352 souls. These emigrants were largely illiterate, and not of the highest character. It was found difficult to hold them to their bargain, and they were soon dispersed throughout the colony without any material influence on the labour market.²

In 1819 a grant of 250,000 was approved by the House of Commons to assist emigration to the Cape of Good Hope. There seems to be some doubt as to whether this money was actually spent but the chief point is that the emigration took place on a considerable

1. *These were chiefly distressed Frame-work Knitters. Hammond. Skilled Labour. p. 251.*
2. Third Report of the Committee on Colonisation. 1827.
3. Report of Committee of 1826. + Report of Select Committee on the Poor in Ireland. 1828.

(2)

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scale. About 4,000 were to be selected to proceed to the Cape, and there were 90,000 applications. 3569 persons embarked in twenty six emigrant ships, and all of them but two arrived at the Cape between March and October 1820. Each head of a family had to deposit £10 with the Emigration Commissioner before leaving. Two-thirds of this was returned on his arrival in the colony. One hundred acres of land were granted to each family. The emigrants were chiefly from Devonshire, and amongst them were many professional men who were ill suited to the hardships of a pioneer life. After a trek, which in some instances occupied weeks, they reached their destination. Wheat, maize, and vegetables were sown, and there was promise of a good harvest when prolonged drought ruined the crops. Rust and blight spoiled the wheat, and to crown all, heavy rains, followed by floods, destroyed what little crop the drought and rust had spared. Great distress prevailed in the infant settlement. Wild herbs and roasted barley took the place of tea and coffee. Wild honey served as sugar, and the dried tops of potatoe plants had to do duty as tobacco. Rust appeared again during the next two years, and in 1823 the distress in the colony was extreme. 2.

A relief society was formed in Cape Town. Owing to the fact that there were no towns of any size there was no possibility of the settlers getting work to tide them over their difficulties as was the case with settlements in North America. Funds were raised in England for relief purposes, and in the end the government had to grant a further £150,000 to assist the settlers. 3. Eventually the colony was

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1. Report of Select Committee on Colonisation. 1890. also see Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, by S.C. Johnson Page 19.
 2. Report of the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers in South Africa. Cape Town. 1823.
 3. Report of Committee of 1890. F167.

successful, and the district of Albany in the eastern part of the province where they settled became one of the most prosperous and loyal sections of South Africa.

In the meantime conditions in the United Kingdom were becoming worse. In Ireland there was a failure of the potatoe crop in 1822, which caused great distress. In England and Scotland where meat and grain were used as food by the mass of the people the coarser foods could be used in time of distress, but in Ireland, where the people were existing at the lowest subsistence point there was nothing to fall back on. The consequence was that there was actual starvation. This was not owing to lack of food in the country, but to the fact that the poor could not afford to pay for it. In 1822 there was a greater quantity of grain exported from Ireland than was imported. The forbearance of the people in these circumstances is little more remarkable than the manner in which the Select Committee on the Poor in Ireland in 1823 reported that "districts in the south and west presented the remarkable example of possessing a surplus of food, whilst the inhabitants were suffering from actual want. The meritorious patience of the peasantry under the pressure of want is here not undeserving of ^{attention and} praise. The calamity of 1822 may therefore be said to have proceeded less from the want of food itself, than from the want of adequate means of purchasing it, or in other words from the want of profitable employment."¹

Relief was sent from England, and it was stated that the corn ex-

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Poor in Ireland. 1823.

(Dublin Evening Post, published in *Quaker & Reviewer of Progress* 1823.

-ported from Ireland to the British ports, was actually purchased by the agents of the London Relief Committee, and sent back to Ireland to feed the tenantry on the lands on which it had been grown. This was an instance of redundancy of population in the sense in which that term was used by Wilmot Horton as having relation, not to subsistence, but to means of employment. X

Another cause of the increasing distress in Ireland was the extensive evictions which were taking place. Because of the political value of the forty shilling freeholder the landlords had winked at the sub-division of farms. Population had so increased that so much of the produce of the soil was required to support the people as to leave little for the landlord as rent. During the war prices were high, and the tenants could pay the rent with ease. But the fall in prices and the failure of the crops made this no longer possible. Consequently the landlords commenced consolidating the small holdings. In order to do this the tenants had to be removed. They were turned out on the roadside without any provision being made for them. Some sought shelter with their friends, and as many as seven families were known to occupy "Corners" in a two-roomed cottage. Others made their way to the towns to swell the ranks of the unemployed, and increase the already existing misery and disease. Others still took up their abode in the bogs where they eked out a precarious existence. A few who could afford it emigrated to North America, and thousands from year to year crossed to England and Scotland there to depress the standard of life of the labourers. Many became a burden on the English Poor Rate. They were

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1. *Dublin Evening Post*. quoted in *Cause & Remedy of Pauperism* - 1850.

2. Report of Committee on the poor in Ireland. 1823.

ditto.

ditto.

1824-25.

~~1826~~ 1830,

Reports on Colonisation. 1826, 1827.

(5)

kinds of
willing to engage in labour to which the English labourer objected,
and at a rate of wages on which the English labourer could not
subsist. The consequence was that an increasing number of the ~~the~~
English labourers were thrown upon the Poor Rates.

Many of the Irish in England became vagrants and beggars.
They were conveyed back to Ireland only to return again on the
first opportunity. The cost of the passage was in some instances
as low as sixpence. Some of the Irish actually hid their money in
their clothes, or deposited it with their friends so as to get
transportation from place to place at public expense. One instance
is given of rents for land in Ireland being paid in London, and a
few minutes afterwards those who had paid these rents were seen
begging in the streets. Owing to the system of removing vagrants
from parish to parish the cost of removing an Irish vagrant from
London to Liverpool was greater than that of an inside place in
the coach plying between those places.
1.

The evictions in Ireland caused disturbances which in
some instances were quelled by the military. The disturbed state
of the country hindered capital from being invested, with the
consequent lessening of employment. Money was actually removed from
the country by the system of absentee landlordism. The problem
which faced the Irish landlords was how they could ~~get~~ rid of
what they called their "surplus stock of men." In some cases
assistance was given to the poor by the landlords to help them to
reach North America. Several of the landlords expressed a willing-
ness to subscribe to a scheme of government aid, but nothing serious
was done.

1 Report on Irish and Scottish Vagrants. 1826.

2 Report on Ireland. 1823.

(6)

From this outline of the social conditions in Ireland it will be seen how inadequate were the attempts to relieve the situation by emigration. In 1821 a grant of £68,760 was made to assist emigration from the South of Ireland to Canada and the Cape. This was followed by a grant of £15,000 in 1823, and another of £30,000 in 1825 for the same purpose. In 1827 a grant of £20,480 was made to assist emigration from the United Kingdom, but £10,000 of this was to be devoted to land surveys in Canada.

In 1823 Peter Robinson was appointed to take charge of an experimental colony from Ireland. The emigrants were chosen from the south of Ireland, chiefly from County Cork. They were largely evicted tenants. At first the Irish seemed to doubt the good faith of the movement, but eventually a colony ~~of~~ of men, women, and children, to the number of 566 was collected and conveyed to Upper Canada in 1823 entirely at government expense. The total cost of conveying the colonists to their destination, and settling them on the land was £12,593.3.0, or £22.1.6. per head. The experiment proved successful, and in 1825 another colony, on a larger scale, was collected. Peter Robinson was again placed in charge, and his ^{selections} were made in the same district. He had now no difficulty in finding willing emigrants. 2000 were to be chosen and there were 50,000 applicants. The cost of transporting and settling this colony was slightly less than that of the former, being at the rate of £21.5.4. per head. Settlement was made in the same district as in 1823. That both these settlements had a considerable degree of success is shown by the detailed account of the condition of the colonists which was laid before the Committees of 1826 and 1827. ~~_____~~

Colonel Talbot who visited the settlements in 1826 reported as follows: "I accompanied Sir Peregrine Maitland on a tour of inspection to the new Irish Emigrant Settlements, about 100 miles below York. I was anxious to see how they were getting on, and whether the scheme of transporting the poor of Ireland to this country was likely to prove beneficial or not, and was happy to find them doing admirably. These people were sent out last summer, about 2000 souls, and did not get on their land until late in November; all of them that I saw had strong leg huts, and had chopped each between three and four acres, and I have every reason to think that they will realise a comfortable independence in the course of this year, and be of no further cost to the government: and it was satisfactory to hear them expressing their gratitude for what was done for them." ^{1.} Colonel Cockburn, who had charge of military settlements in Canada did not consider the settlement a success, but the chief difficulty seems to have been that the conduct of the settlers was not fully approved of by their neighbours. ^{2.} However there is other evidence which would seem to indicate that they were not entirely successful. ^{3.} Some of the settlers left their lands and crossed to the United States, while others became labourers in Canada. But considering the previous condition of the emigrants, and the difficulties of pioneer settlement, these Irish colonies in Upper Canada may be said to have been at least relatively successful, and the later prosperity of the Newcastle and Peterborough districts, where they settled, testifies to the value of the foundations laid by these pioneers.

During this period the regulated and assisted emigration

formed a small proportion of the total. It is estimated that from
 1. Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America. S. C. Johnson. P. 231.
 2. Report of Committee of 1827. 2. Report of 1826.

1821 to 1831 196,658 emigrants left the British Isles.¹ Almost three fifths of these were from Ireland. In the year 1831 about 34,000 Irish landed at Quebec alone.² Most of the Irish either were or became labourers, although in the later twenties, and during the thirties many farmers, having considerable capital, emigrated. During some part of the year passages to Quebec cost only thirty shillings.³ The cheapness of transport added greatly to the stream of emigrants. In many instances ~~those~~ ^{those} who had previously emigrated either actually purchased tickets for their relatives in Ireland, or sent them sufficient funds to cover the cost of the journey. Many of those who were assisted in this way went to the United States. Of those who went to Canada as labourers many moved to the United States when the labour market in Canada became crowded. Work was easily found there on the extensive public works then being carried out. It was largely Irish labour that made possible the construction of the Erie Canal. Many of those who did not actually settle in the United States continued to hold land in Canada, and spent part of the year earning wages across the border.⁴

While some emigrants went to the United States through Canada, others made their way to Canada via New York. Commencing about the year 1817 the British Consul at New York despatched about 3,000 British emigrants to the Township of Cavan in Upper Canada.⁵ While it is impossible to calculate with accuracy the number of emigrants permanently leaving Canada and settling in the United States at this period it was thought at the time that in the end about the

1. Foster. Progress of the Nation. 1847. Edition.

2. Report of Emigration Agent at Quebec.

3. Report of Emigration Commissioners. 1832.

4. Report on Colonization. 1826. P. 100.

5. ditto

5. Emigration practically considered, in a letter to Wilmot Horton. A. C. Buchanan. also Report of 1825. 1828.

same number settled in Canada as landed at Quebec with the intention of so doing.

Owing to the state of destitution in which the majority of the emigrants arrived in Canada and the United States there were numerous cases of distress. In some instances the emigrant was met by individuals who under the ~~the~~ pretence of giving him assistance relieved him of what little money he possessed. Others were met by their friends, and several days were spent in carousal to celebrate the event. The result was that numbers of the emigrants, ~~who~~ who were unable to obtain work immediately had to resort to begging.

" " The Albany Advertiser in referring to the arrival of emigrants wrote in 1826 "The picture of distress which these emigrants present on their arrival here is almost indescribable; and by many of our citizens great blame is attached to the commanders of our river craft for bringing them from New York, and landing them upon our wharfs, knowing them to be destitute of a single cent to secure themselves a mouthful to eat; the consequence of which is they are next seen begging through our streets in the most loathesome and abject state of filth and misery, It appears that they beg in the city of New York till they get a few shillings, or sufficient to induce a captain of a tow-boat, or some other craft, to bring them to Albany, where they are left to depend upon providence, or their ingenuity in the art of begging, in which, by the way, most of them are adepts." The great influx of emigrants into Canada commenced in 1827, and reached its climax in 1831 and 1832. Many of these went to Upper Canada where work was to be found on the new settlements. In 1831 Sir John Colborne writing to Lord Goderich

1. Letter dated 24th November 1831.

reported that " more than 30,000 of the emigrants who arrived by Quebec this season are now I imagine in this province; they are of a good description. Those which came here early in the summer, chiefly from Wiltshire and Yorkshire, were rapidly succeeded by others, to such an extent, that it became necessary to take steps for their removal; they were generally healthy young men with large families, and altogether destitute. It appeared very desirable to detain them in this province, and that this first trial, made for the purpose of relieving parishes at home, should not prove a failure. Had they not received every possible encouragement, their disappointment would have produced the worst effect, with reference to future emigrations to Upper Canada. I directed that the emigrants who could not find work, or could not proceed into the country with their families, should be conveyed to the township Oro, on Lake Simcoe, and to several townships named in the annexed return. Many of them were hired as they were proceeding to their locations, but about 108 families are now working on their lots in Oro, 444 in the Newcastle district, and 27 in Seymour. They have most of them received assistance in provisions, and have had a temporary accomodation afforded them in log houses. " Thus we see that the system of settling the surplus labourers on the land was adopted in Canada.

 Note on emigration to Canada 1815-1831.

Number of Emigrants.

1816 - 1250.

Average to 1826 - 2,000 annually.

1827 - 15,862.

1828 - 12,697.

1829 - 15,945.

1830 - 28,100.

1831 - 50,254.

Assisted Emigration.

1820-21. - 3,000

*In 1820. 167 families
 or 883 souls were
 assisted from Lanarkshire.*
 Most of these seem to have settled in the Lanark district, and are referred to in the Commissioners Report of 1832 as having been very successful.

1823 - 570,

1825 - 2020.

Peter Robinson's Colonies.

Turning to Scotland we find that during this period there was no general distress in the agricultural districts. There was a slight emigration from the Western Islands chiefly in 1826, but although the proprietors believed that their land would be more profitable if devoted to raising sheep there was no outcry regarding redundancy of population and distress such as took place in the later Thirties. Distress in Scotland in the twenties was confined chiefly to the manufacturing districts. This distress became severe in 1822 amongst the cotton weavers of Renfrew¹ and Lanark². In the years following the war the rapid development of the cotton industry counteracted the influence of the improvement in machinery and no unemployment resulted. But about 1821 a check in trade diminished the demand for labour. Owing to the fact that they were skilled workmen it was difficult for the weavers to transfer their labour to any other kind of employment. This was particularly true of those in the towns. In the country districts where the hand-loom weavers had combined agriculture with weaving this change was not so difficult. To these settlement on the land in one of the colonies was a much simpler matter than to the townsmen. In 1822 the introduction of the power-loom became general, and much distress resulted from the ensuing unemployment. From March 1st. 1826 to February 22nd. 1827 the London Relief Committee spent £22,000 in relief in Renfrewshire alone. As many as 2,600 families were receiving relief at one time, and the average number assisted weekly was 2,030. Distress was rendered more severe because of the influx of weavers from Ireland to the Glasgow and Paisley district.

1. Second Report of Committee on Colonisation. 1827.

2. The Skilled Labourer. Hammond. Pp. 119-128.

The Manufacturers' Relief Committee offered to contribute \$25,000 towards assisting the weavers to emigrate, on condition that a sum of \$50,000 was raised by other means. Numerous Emigration Societies were formed. The Glasgow Emigration Society comprised 140 heads of families. In Renfrewshire there were 13 Emigration Societies, representing 4,653 persons. All of these were hand-loom weavers, and had petitioned for assistance to emigrate. In Lanarkshire there were 22 Emigration Societies, representing 1618 families, or 8,500 individuals. All these were prepared to emigrate under the same conditions as the colonies from Ireland in 1823 and 1825, and to enter into bond to repay the money advanced. As early as 1821 the Committee of Management of Emigration in Glasgow assisted 1,883 persons to reach America. There was some distress also in Ayr. The Emigration Societies, being composed of the weavers who were out of work, were unable to raise any funds, but looked to the government for assistance. The Committee of 1827 recommended a grant of \$50,000 to assist the weavers to emigrate, but when this was done the necessity for such a measure seems to have passed.

In the manufacturing districts of England there was also unemployment and distress. This was most severe in Manchester and the surrounding district. As many as 14,680 persons were receiving relief weekly. In 1825 \$25,588, and in 1826 \$40,500, was distributed in this way. Here again Irish weavers swelled the stream of the unemployed. In England the system of Poor Relief extended the distress to the class of small farmers and landowners upon whom fell the burden of the Poor Rates. They were too independent to become labourers, and apply for relief. They were driven to sell their X

Note.

P. 13.

1. From the district of Hensted, in Kent, a number of people were assisted to emigrate to the United States. 52 men, women, and children emigrated, 27 at the parish expense and 25 at their own. The parish borrowed the money, and repaid it out of the poor rates. This emigration seems to have been successful, and it was used as an example of what might be done by borrowing money on the security of the Poor Rate to assist emigration.

Report of Committee of 1826.

See also Report of ^{Commission} ~~Committee~~ on the Poor Laws, 1834.

ere of a v e, and
3.
their sentence became valuable settlers. From 1825 to 1831 inclusive

1. Report of Emigration Commissioners. 1832.

2. Third Report of Committee of 1827.

3. Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Vol. 6. Part 1. P. 53.

18,552 convicts arrived in New South Wales, and about half this number were sent to Van Diemen's Land. From 1821 to 1831 inclusive 9,358 free emigrants left the British Isles for the Australian Colonies. ^{1.} In 1819 the free emigrants formed only one twentieth of the total population, and during the next decade this proportion ^{2.} does not seem to have increased.

In 1827 the west coast of Australia was explored by Captain James Stirling, R.N. With him was Dr Fraser, a botanist, who had considerable experience in Australian survey. A glowing report of the fitness of West Australia for colonisation was sent to the Colonial Office. The suggestion was also made that if Great Britain did not colonise this district some other power might do so. The government suggested that the East India Company should found a colony there, but this they declined to do. Captain Stirling, and Major Moody, R.E. then asked permission to form a private company with a view to establishing a colony, but this offer the government rejected. Soon afterwards Mr Thomas Peel, cousin of Sir Robert Peel, with three other gentlemen, formed themselves into a company, and proposed to form a colony at Swan River by taking out 10,000 settlers in four years in consideration of a grant of 4,000,000 acres of land in the district. They calculated that the cost per head of transport, and settlement would be £30, and they reckoned the value of the land at 1s 6d per acre. It is unnecessary here to relate the details of the negotiations between this Company and the Government. In the end the grant was limited to 1,000,000

1. Porter, Progress of the Nation.

2. Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Vol. 6 Part 1. Lucas. Page 71.

acres. 250,000 acres were to be granted on the arrival of the first batch of 400 settlers. Capt. Stirling was to be first Governor, and instead of pay was to receive a grant of 100,000 acres. The government was not to bear any of the expense. Land was to be granted to settlers in proportion to the amount of capital they were prepared to spend in its improvement at the rate of 40 acres for every £3. Any person taking out a labourer at his own expense was to receive 200 acres. There were also regulations as to the amount of land to be brought into cultivation, and a limited time given in which this was to be done. The result of these conditions was that all the members of the Company withdrew but Peel.^{1.} A preliminary expedition arrived under Capt Stirling in June 1829, to make preparations for the reception of the settlers. Peel arrived in December with 300 settlers. Owing to the large grants of land near the mouth of the river it was necessary for settlers to go far inland for their locations. This caused considerable dispersal of the settlers. The land was ^{not} found to be so fertile as the reports indicated. There was much disappointment, and soon exaggerated reports of the barrenness of the soil and the failure of the colony were circulated. Much of this was due to the fact that the settlers had not been carefully selected and many ~~were~~ were entirely unsuited to the hardships of pioneer life. Many left the colony and went to New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land. BY January 1830 the story of the failure of the colony had reached England. ~~W~~ In 1832 the population which had been 4,000 had dwindled to 1,500. Peel's investment of £50,000 was lost. To complete the ruin of the colony

 1. Hints on Emigration to the New Settlement on the Swan and Canning Rivers on the West Coast of Australia, together with extract from the Report of Capt Stirling, and Report of Mr. Fraser, and correspondence between Peel and Twiss, Under Sec. for the Colonies. 1830.

it was vigorously, and somewhat unfairly attacked by Wakefield, before the Parliamentary Committee on the Disposal of Waste Lands in 1836, and in 1849 its population had reached only 4,600.¹

In 1831 an Emigration Commission was formed chiefly for the purpose of giving official information and direction to intending emigrants. The members were unpaid, and this method of dealing with emigration proved unsuccessful, and in 1832 they were relieved of their duties. The only direct assistance to emigration they seem to have given was to advance the sum of £1,961 to 103 mechanics to enable them to proceed with their families to Australia. Under their direction two shiploads of female emigrants were sent to the same destination, one going to New South Wales and the other to Van Diemen's Land. There was a great disproportion between the sexes in the Australasian colonies and this attempt was made to solve the problem. But owing to carelessness in selecting the emigrants it proved a failure. Those sent to Van Diemen's Land were particularly unsuitable, about one half of them being of questionable character. Some were reported to be more depraved than the convict women. Those who went to New South Wales were more carefully selected and were soon absorbed in the colony. The selections were made from the parish workhouses, and from casual applicants. In some instances it would seem that those in charge of the workhouses took the opportunity to rid themselves of their most troublesome charges. These were given written characters with which the real ones had little correspondence. The better class women who had been persuaded to join the party complained, somewhat justly, that they had been deceived as to the

1. The Colonisation of Australia. (1829-1842). R. C. Mills.

character of their companions.

The stream of emigration from the British Isles at this time is all the more remarkable when the character of the facilities for transport is taken into account. The voyage to Australia occupied months, and the average time allowed for the voyage to North America was twelve weeks. Ships were very much crowded, and the growing number of emigrants caused vessels that were scarcely seaworthy to be called into the Trans-Atlantic service. Emigrants provided their own food for the voyage. Sometimes this was insufficient, and it was alleged that ship-masters sometimes prolonged the voyage in order to sell the provisions carried on board to passengers at enhanced prices. Cases occurred of passengers being landed at places different from those specified in their contracts. Insufficient provision was made for the health of the passengers. These abuses led to the Passenger Acts of 1823 and 1825. By the provisions of these Acts food and water had to be supplied by the ship-master, and passengers were no longer allowed to provide their own. The amount and kind of food to be provided was strictly laid down. As meat was included in the allowance this did not suit the Irish emigrants who were accustomed to a diet of potatoes. Needless to say in the case of ships sailing from Irish ports there was much laxity in observing the provisions of the Acts, and stories are told of how at a much later date before the departure of an emigrant family their friends and neighbours were engaged for weeks in baking oatcake which was to serve as food during the long voyage. These Acts caused the cost of the voyage

to be greater. The effect of this was to check emigration. An outcry was raised by both shipowners and intending emigrants, with the result that these Acts were repealed in 1827, ~~and~~ The freedom which followed led to still greater abuses. One ship arrived at Nova Scotia which had sailed from Ireland carrying one hundred and sixty emigrants, not one of whom had escaped disease in some form. Five had died during the voyage, thirty five had to be left at Newfoundland as they were too ill to proceed further, and the one hundred and twenty who were landed at Nova Scotia were suffering from typhus. Another Act, somewhat milder in its provisions, was passed in 1828, but the number of emigrants in proportion to the shipping facilities was so great that there was no competition between the shipowners, and abuses continued. Many of the emigrants found themselves seriously hampered on their arrival in the colonies because of the strain of discomfort or actual disease contracted on the voyage.

Then to these transport difficulties is added the fact that information concerning the colonies was somewhat meagre, and the emigrants were to a large extent launching out into the unknown, some idea of their courage may be formed. That under these conditions 196,658 persons should emigrate between 1821 and 1831 gives some indication of the severity of the social conditions in the British Isles during the period.

The Wakefield Theory of Colonisation.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield was born in London in the year 1796.

He came of Quaker stock, but in early life did not ^{display} many of the qualities usually associated with that communion. As a boy at school he was a source of great anxiety to a loving grandmother who seems to have been more deeply interested in his welfare than his parents. Westminster School was found to be unsuitable for him, and he was sent to Edinburgh High School. His grandmother thought that this change might improve the wayward youth, and expressed satisfaction that he had gone "where I trust he will be instructed in religion and morality as well as in Greek and Latin". But even Scottish influence does not seem to have succeeded in creating in him a proper respect for authority. His father, writing to Francis Place in 1814 says of him, "Should he settle down to business as he ought, he will make a man, but he is very likely to go off at a tangent, and then I cannot tell what may happen to him". This propensity he displayed later, and it may also explain to some extent his somewhat unhappy relations with the Colonial Office.

Francis Place, from whose "Library" behind the tailor's shop at Charing Cross issued the most potent influence in improving the conditions of labour in the twenties, was a friend of the Wakefield family until ~~1822~~ 1822. Evidently the gay and extravagant life of the Wakefields did not appeal to Place and the friendship ended. But it is interesting to note that Gibbon Wakefield found it necessary to influence opinion in Parliament in favour of systematic colonisation by using others in much the

same way as Place did in effecting the repeal of the laws against combination of labourers. Bentham was also known to the Wakefield family, and it was the elder Wakefield who introduced James Mill to Francis Place. Later John Stuart Mill became a strong supporter of Wakefield's theories on colonisation.

Gibbon Wakefield was ambitious to enter the House of Commons. But not having sufficient funds he proceeded to remedy this defect by abducting an heiress, with whom he went through the form of marriage at Gretna Green. This escapade was rewarded by three years in Newgate, where, owing perhaps to the prominence which his own condition gave in his mind to the penal settlements in Australia, he became deeply interested in problems of colonisation. Here he read all he could find on the subject, and through the newspapers published in the colonies became acquainted with the real condition of the penal settlements. The immediate result was the publication of the "Letters from Sydney", which purported to come from the pen of Robert Gouger. The disgrace into which he had fallen would have made it impossible for him to secure a hearing had he written under his own name. For some years he worked unseen, and even to the end of his life his youthful indiscretion closed to him an entrance to Parliament, and to office.

There is no doubt that Wakefield possessed real genius, and exercised a wide influence on the colonial policy of his time. Lord Norton, one of Wakefield's associates, writing towards the end of his life to Richard Garnett said "Wakefield was a man

Life of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Dr. Richard Garnett.

of genius, and, circumstances having shut him out of Parliament, where he would have risen to the top of the tree, he devoted himself to make ministers dance in his leading strings". "To Wakefield is due the chief merit in restoring our colonial policy-to let colonies be extensions of England, with the same constitution as at home."¹ Another writer says "For many years he had to work masked- had to pour forth his views in anonymous tracts and letters, had to make pawns of dull men with respectable names. This and more he learned to do. He found information and ideas for personages who had neither, and became an adept at pulling strings and manipulating mediocrities".² "He saw and made the common-place people about him see, that colonisation was a national work, worthy of system, attention, and the best energies of England".³ Thus we see that in studying the theory of Wakefield on colonisation we are touching not mere theory but something that had a vital influence on British Colonial policy as a whole. At the same time we find this theory being put into practice, although perhaps somewhat imperfectly, in the new colony of South Australia, and in New Zealand.

He became the central figure, and moving force in a group of systematic colonisers, which included such men as Sir William Molesworth, and Charles Buller, who gave expression to the views of the group in the House of Commons, and Mill, Colonel Torrens, and Rintoul, Editor of the Spectator, who influenced the general public. He was associated with Lord Durham on his mission to Canada,

1. Life of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Dr. Richard Garnett.

2. The Long White Cloud. W.P. Reeves. P. 167.

3. ditto ditto. P. 168.

and his influence was such as to give rise to the somewhat exaggerated statement regarding the Durham Report that "Wakefield thought it, Buller wrote it, and Durham signed it".

"It may not be without interest to observe that nearly all the men who were active in promoting Colonial reform at this time were Scottish either by birth, or education, or by both. Wakefield was wholly English by birth. But he had received part of his education at the Edinburgh High School. Buller and Molesworth had both been students of Edinburgh University, and Molesworth was besides Scottish on his Mother's side. Rintoul was wholly Scottish; so was James Mill, and his son, J.S. Mill, was of course half Scottish by birth, and wholly Scottish by the education which his father had given him".^{1.}

One of the first acts of Wakefield on his release from Newgate was to form a Colonisation Society for the purpose of propagating his views. This society published numerous pamphlets, most of which were written by Wakefield, and also issued a paper called the "Colonial Gazette", which was discontinued for lack of funds. The ^{members} ~~x~~ were opposed to the theories of Wilmot Horton on emigration, but possibly for reasons of policy they invited him to preside at one of their public meetings. In his speech he attacked their theories, with the result that the society broke up. But the seed had been sown and the work of influencing opinion begun, and this was vigorously continued, especially by Wakefield, by both pen and voice, in the years following.^{2.}

Wakefield gave expression to his theories in 1833 in a work entitled "England and America", ^{and} before various Parliamentary Committees, such as those on Waste Lands, 1836, South Australia.

1. Life of Sir W. Molesworth. Mrs Fawcett. P. 139.

2. England and America. E.G. Wakefield.

in ~~1841~~ 1841¹ and New Zealand in 1840. In 1849 appeared his final work "The Art of Colonisation". This was evidently written at the suggestion of John Stuart Mill who wrote to Wakefield "I have long regretted that there does not exist a systematic treatise in a permanent form, from your hand and in your name, in which the whole subject of colonisation is treated as the express subject of the book, so as to become at once the authoritative book on the subject. At present, people have to pick up your doctrines, both theoretical and practical. I cannot help urging you to complete the book with as much expedition as is consistent with the care due to your health, which your life is too valuable to permit any relaxation of".¹

In "A Letter from Sydney" Wakefield, in extremely realistic fashion pictures the difficulties of life in the colony because of the dearth of labourers. The ruling idea was to produce wool and make money. The arts and amenities of civilisation were neglected. The evils of convict labour are set forth. But the root of the trouble is the abundance of land and the ease with which it may be obtained. As soon as labourers obtain a little money they quit their employment and take up land. As a remedy he suggests that the Government should restrict grants of land. Land should be granted only in proportion to the increase of people in the colony. In this way emigration to the colonies would be in the nature of an extension of the territory of Britain.

His work "England and America" is an elaboration of this idea. It commences with a picture of the wealth of England

¹ Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Garnett.

on the one hand and the poverty and distress of the labouring population on the other. By the system of the Poor Law wages were determined "according to a scale founded on the power of gastric juice," and there was no motive to be industrious. ¹ Society is divided into three classes, the upper or spending class, the labouring class, and the middle class, including the professions. This latter class is characterised as the "leisure class" because it is liable to be affected by any disturbance in the other two classes. The French Revolution led to a desire to better the condition of the labouring class. ² Education of the labouring class was proposed by the middle class, but this was opposed by the ruling class and the clergy. The repeal of the Corn-laws is advocated, as cheap corn would make England the workshop of the world, and provide more employment. But the great remedy is systematic colonisation.

Wakefield considered that, although there had been many treatises on Colonies, the subject of colonisation had never been properly considered. James Mill had written on Colonisation in the Supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, but this, instead of dealing with the subject was "a treatise, and a very able one, on population, punishment, monopolies, and patronage, with a few careless remarks on colonisation". ³ Adam Smith had written on Colonies, but his treatment of the subject was very imperfect. So an adequate statement of the question had still to be made.

There were three objects which an old society would have in promoting colonisation, namely, the extension of the market for disposing of surplus produce, relief from excessive numbers, and an enlargement of the field for employing capital.

— Although attempts had been made to relieve excessive
1. England and America.

numbers under the direction of Wilmot Horton no such relief had actually been obtained. Emigration had been opposed because the capitalists thought that the ensuing rise in wages meant a fall in profits, but this opposition was based on a wrong view of capital.

He held that in Colonisation there are two elements, waste land, and the removal of people to these lands. The success or failure of any attempt at colonisation depended on the system of disposing of the waste land. He was greatly impressed by the system adopted by the United States. He attributed the greater prosperity of the United States as compared with Canada at this time to its better system of disposing of the public domain. The United States was an example of a country where both wages and profits were high. This was due to the fact that the system of selling the waste land by auction hindered the population from spreading too fast. But he was also aware that the Alleghenies, the dense forests, and the presence of hostile Indians had served to concentrate the American colonies in the early days of their history. The most outstanding example of how not to dispose of land was the Swan River Colony. There the huge grant of land to Peel had proved a barrier to the success of the colony. Lands appropriated but not used always proved a hindrance to development as the land beyond these "Deserts" could not be cultivated with profit. In Canada the Clergy Reserves had proved one of the greatest barriers to success because they made the construction of roads difficult, and also caused a wide dispersion of the settlers.

In order to overcome these difficulties he recommended

1. Evidence before Committee on Waste Lands. 1876.

that the system of free grants of land should be discontinued, and that all land should be disposed of at a price. That price should be determined by the needs of the colony for labour. Labourers by having to pay for their land would be compelled to work in the colony for some time in order to obtain the necessary money. Price of land would be determined on a sliding scale depending on the condition of the labour market in the particular colony. This system would be like "an elastic belt, which, though always tight, will always yield to pressure from within"¹. This price should not be too high, because then it would become, not an elastic belt, but "a wall of brass", immigration would be prevented, and the objects of colonisation defeated.² On this system those buying land would not be paying for land but for labour. But in order that the system should be successful care must be taken to have a uniform price in each colony. If price is not uniform settlers will be attracted to the place where land is cheap. With this best, or sufficient, price for land there should be "the most perfect liberty of appropriation". There should be no exceptional grants of land for religious or educational purposes.

The fund created by the sale of lands could be used to convey labourers to the colony. The greatest hindrance to the success of colonies was lack of labourers. This dearth was caused not only by the system of granting land, but by the difficulty labourers in the British Isles had in reaching the colonies. Slavery in the United States, and convict labour in the Australian Colonies relieved the situation somewhat in those countries. Canada being easily reached was fairly well supplied with labour.³ But there was

1. England and America. P. 151.
2. ditto P. 153.

3. Committee on Waste Lands. 1836.

need for regulated and systematic assistance to labourers to reach the Australian Colonies. By using the fund secured from the sale of lands for this purpose a bridge would be constructed across which would pass a steady stream of labourers regulated according to the needs of the colony. The fund would automatically increase with the increase in the demand for labour. In this way a self-regulating measure, and regular supply, of labour would be provided. The most economical way to administer the fund would be to take to the colonies, as far as possible, only young married couples, or young people of both sexes ~~in equal numbers~~ in equal numbers. In this way a larger proportion of the redundant population would be removed, as not only actual but potential population is thus transported.

Wakefield considered his scheme to be one of colonisation as opposed to mere emigration. By the scheme of Wilmot Horton paupers were "shovelled out", and dumped in the colonies to find employment as best they could. The main object of such emigration was to relieve the situation at home. The interests of the emigrants were secondary. As one writer put it, the body politic was sick and needed to be bled, and the bleeding was done in what was considered the least vital part of the body. Further, pauper emigration meant the removal of large numbers of children and old people. These were of little use in the colonies, and provided little relief in the labour market at home. The emigration of paupers, coupled with the transportation of convicts to the penal settlements had made emigration distasteful. But a well regulated system of

1 No Emigration. A pamphlet. 1828.

colonisation would appeal to every class in the community. The weakness of previous emigration was that it consisted of only one class. Consequently the development of a truly civilised life was retarded. In genuine colonisation every class must be included. In this way the new colonies would become miniature reproductions of the mother country.

Wakefield believed that at the proper time some measure of self-government should be given to such colonies. Intelligence and independence would be fostered by colonial life, and soon the colonies would not submit to be governed from a distance, by men who understood only imperfectly the local conditions. In drawing up the scheme for the founding of the colony of South Australia Wakefield made provision for self-government, but as this was displeasing to the Colonial Office it was withdrawn. However, history has shown that, in this, Wakefield showed keener discernment than the officials at Downing Street.

"The Art of Colonisation" published in 1849, which Mill had hoped would form a systematic, and authoritative treatise on Colonisation falls far short of fulfilling that function. In construction it is unsystematic, and while its interest is added to, its value as a systematic treatise is lessened, by the frequent disparaging personal references to the officials of the Colonial Office. However, it is valuable as throwing light on the development of his own ideas on colonisation as the result of wider experience. The story of his relations with the Colonial Office is also set forth, from his own point of view, and in his characteristic and interesting style.

The chief change that had taken place in his ideas was

on the question of the sale of land by auction. In his earlier writings he had advocated the disposal of land by auction at a fixed upset price.¹ To this he later became strongly opposed. The other points of his system are emphasised, especially those of a uniform system, sufficient price uniform throughout each colony, and the devotion of the proceeds of sale to assisting ~~the~~ emigration.

With regard to sufficient price he writes, "The mere putting of a price on all new land may accomplish none of the objects in view. In order to accomplish them the price must be sufficient for that purpose. But the price may be low or high as the Government pleases: it is a variable force completely under the control of the government. In founding a colony the price might be so low as to render the quantity of land appropriated by settlers practically unlimited: it might be high enough to occasion a proportion between land and people similar to that of old countries, in which case, if this very high price did not prevent emigration, the cheapest land in the colony might be as dear, and the superabundance of labourers as deplorable as in England: or it might be a just medium between the two, occasioning neither superabundance of people nor superabundance of land, but so limiting the quantity of land, as to give the cheapest land a market value that would have the effect of compelling labourers to work some considerable time for wages before they could become landowners. A price that did less than this, would be insufficient; one that did more

1. England & America.

would be excessive: the price that would do this and no more is the proper price. I am used to call it the sufficient price".^{1.}

The principle underlying the Wakefield system was adopted in the regulations for the sale of land in Australia in 1831. Previously land had been granted on various terms such as quit rents, redeemable at so many years' purchase; for direct money payments; on certain conditions as to cultivation of the soil; or entirely free. By the regulations of 1831 all these were done away, and sale by auction, at a fixed minimum upset price was adopted. The fund so created was devoted to assisting labourers to emigrate. The colony of South Australia was founded on similar principles. The same practice was adopted in the New Zealand colonies. The Select Committee on New Zealand in ~~XXXX~~ 1840, after referring to the confusion in the sale of land which had resulted from the government not taking over all the lands and disposing of them uniformly, reported in words that might well have been penned by Wakefield, that under these conditions it was impossible to put in force "that most approved method of colonisation, namely, that of disposing of the whole of the waste lands by sale at a uniform and sufficient price". "The government, it is clear, cannot maintain such a price, and thus introduce labour into the colony in quantities proportioned to the extent of land held by private owners, if those owners can undersell the government without loss to themselves".^{2.}

But Wakefield himself considered that his scheme had never been properly tried.^{3.} This was due largely to the opposition of

1. The Art of Colonisation. P. 339.

2. Report of Select Committee on New Zealand. 1840.

3. Art of Colonisation.

the Colonial Office, and various private interests. With regard to the scheme for the founding of South Australia he writes, "We struck out this provision because it displeased somebody, altered another to conciliate another person, and inserted a third because it embodied somebody's crotchets".¹ It was so disfigured that he would have disowned it if there had not been enough of the original left to lead to hope. To him the details of his system were all important, and he attributed the failure of the scheme, ^{the} to mistake of not adopting it in its entirety.

There is a tone of disappointment, almost bordering on petulance, running through his "Art of Colonisation". It may have been that he saw the merits of his system so clearly that he failed to appreciate fully the difficulties of applying it. The Colonial Office had to take into account not only the merits of the system, but all the numerous and varied interests of the colonies. Had Wakefield been given charge of the Garden of Eden there is no doubt that he would have made his system a success in all its detail. But when applied to an empire that had come together by accident, in which there had been created interests not in the original scheme of things, it was quite a different matter. But there is no doubt that Wakefield exercised a very powerful influence on British Colonial policy, and did much to bind the various parts of the Empire together on the solid basis of independence and interdependence.

The changes which have taken place in what were then the colonies of England have made less practicable such a system

1. The Art of Colonisation. P. 49.

as Wakefield's. "But if it was rather for an age than for all time in its practical operation, the system preserved an undying importance in history as the first attempt since the days of the Greeks at organised colonisation on scientific principles".^{1.}

1. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Dr. R. Garnett.

The Wakefield Theory in Practice. - Australia.

When the Colonisation Society approached the Colonial Office in 1830 for the purpose of obtaining official sanction and assistance in carrying out their scheme of colonisation they were told that the government rather wished to discourage emigration as they had already more than they could deal with.^{1.} Doubtless the Colonial Office had in mind the mighty stream of emigrants then pouring into Canada. When it was pointed out that the scheme of the Colonisation Society was not to encourage emigration, but to initiate systematic colonisation the Minister for the Colonies admitted that he had not thought of the difference. However the propaganda carried out by the society was producing results.

In 1831 Lord Goderich^{2.} sent instructions to the

Governors of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Western Australia, that all previous systems of disposing of land were to be abolished, and sale by auction, at a fixed minimum upset price substituted. Land was to be sold for ready money only. Ten per cent. of the purchase price was to be paid at the time of sale. If the purchase was not completed within a month the sale was to be declared void, and the deposit forfeited. The money obtained from the sale of lands could be applied to assisting emigration.^{3.} This was the first attempt to put into practice the principle underlying the Wakefield theory. It was far from satisfying the advocates of systematic colonisation, but it was a beginning. The Emigration Commissioners had recommended that emigration to

1. England and America. 2. Accounts and Papers. 1831.

3. See instructions to Colonial Governors. 1831. & Report of Committee on Waste Lands. 1836.

(2)

Australia should be encouraged. The cost of the passage to Australia was such as to be prohibitive to the ordinary labourer. It was now lowered from £30 to £18. The Treasury advanced £10,000 on the security of the future land sales to assist emigration. In 1832 the fund obtained from the sale of lands amounted to over £10,000; in 1833 it amounted to £26,000, in 1834 to £40,000, in 1835 to £80,000, and in 1836 to about £130,000. These sums were used to assist emigrants to reach Australia. Those assisted were labourers of good character, having no capital, who were willing to work for wages.¹ An attempt was also made to encourage the emigration of women. there was a very great disparity between the sexes in the Australian colonies, and conditions of life were not particularly attractive to women. The work of selecting the women emigrants was given to a society known as the London Emigrant ~~Committee~~ Committee. This Committee was not very fortunate in its selections, and many women of doubtful character were sent out.

Thus we see that in this early movement there was some attempt at carrying out what may be spoken of as the three great principles of the Wakefield system, namely, Sale of land, the application of the fund so secured to assisting emigration, and the emigration of the sexes in equal proportions. But Wakefield considered that the way in which these principles were put into practice rendered them **ineff**ectual.² The price at which the land was sold was not sufficient, and the manner in which emigration was assisted was not the best. The systematic colonisers had still

1. Report of Lords' Committee on New Zealand. 1838.

2. The Art of Colonisation. 1849.

(3)

higher ambitions, and the project ^{of} founding a colony in South Australia was formed.

The system of land sales introduced in 1831 chiefly affected New South Wales. Western Australia was still suffering from the unfortunate circumstances under which it was founded, and it presented little attraction for settlers. Van Diemen's Land was at this time overcrowded with labourers, and it was with difficulty that work could be found for them. ^{1.} The Governor requested that no more be sent. In New South Wales, on the contrary, there was a dearth of labourers. ^{2.} The number of free emigrants arriving in the colony had been steadily increasing, while the number of convicts sent out each year remained on the average without change. This, coupled with the fact that many of the former convicts, having served their sentence, had become valuable settlers, was gradually changing the character of the colony of New South Wales. It had originated as a penal settlement, but now the number of free settlers had so increased that the penal element was becoming increasingly less prominent.

Notwithstanding all the criticism of the systematic colonisers there is no doubt that the Rigby Regulations for the sale of land had much to do in producing this result. In 1831 the number of free emigrants arriving in the colony was 457, and in 1832 the number had increased to 2006. ^{3.} In addition to the actual number of emigrants taken out under the scheme the advantages

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1. Despatch from Sir John Franklin to Lord Glenelg, with enclosures. 4th. April, 1838.
 2. Reports of Commissions sitting in New South Wales, 1837-1838, and Despatch of Sir Geo. Gipps to the Marquess of Normanby, 1840.
 3. Report of Agent General for Emigration, 1839.

(4)

of settlement in New South Wales was brought prominently before the British public. It was this that made it possible for New South Wales to take advantage of the lull in emigration to British North America which commenced in 1838, after the rebellion in Canada. In 1838 14,021 emigrants went from the British Isles to the Australian colonies, and of these 10,189 went to New South Wales.¹ In 1839 the number reaching Australia was 15,786, in 1840 it was 15,850, and in 1841 the number totalled 32,625.

Before 1837 emigrants were taken out in government ships, and at government expense. In 1837 the system of giving bounties on the introduction of suitable labourers into the colony was inaugurated. This was originally intended to apply to settlers requiring labourers, and bringing them into the colony. But the commercial element was soon introduced into the system, and the bounty was paid to shipowners, who conveyed labourers in their ships, and succeeded in getting them accepted by the colony. The bounty system was found to be more economical, and labourers could be conveyed 21 per cent. cheaper by that method than on the government ships. Also the percentage of young children to adults was less. The merits of the two systems were much discussed, and the Governor of New South Wales favoured the bounty system. In 1840, when the need for labourers in the colony was greater than ever the bounty was increased. This led to a rapid increase in the number of emigrants arriving on the bounty system. So great was the expenditure on bounties that emigration in government ships had to be stopped. Soon the numbers reaching the colony called for bounties to a

1. Report of Agent General for Emigration. 1839.

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larger amount than the funds at the disposal of the colony would allow. In addition, since 1835 the colony had to bear the expense of police, gaols, and part of the marine.^{1.} This was estimated in 1835 to be about £25,000, but in 1839 it had reached £90,000. In 1841 a commercial crisis arose in New South Wales. Land sales fell off, and the Governor appealed to the Colonial Office to check emigration. The result was that the bounty system was suspended, and emigration^{2.} immediately diminished.

In 1831 the advocates of the Wakefield system laid before the Colonial Office a plan for founding and colonising a new British province in South Australia. In all the existing colonies so much public land had been already alienated, and the means adopted for so doing had been so various, that it was very difficult to apply the Wakefield system without such modification as in the opinion of its supporters rendered it ineffective. In the new colony of South Australia it was hoped that the system would have a fair trial. But even here important modifications had to be made.

Correspondence regarding the new colony was carried on with the Colonial Office from 1831 to 1834 without producing any satisfactory results.^{3.} The part of the scheme to which the government took most exception was the proposal for self-government in the colony. Verbal approval of the scheme had been given by Lord Howick, to whom it had been first presented. Encouraged by this the colonisers proceeded to ~~xxx~~ collect a body of settlers in anticipation of the grant of a charter. These settlers had subscribed £100,000, and others were ready to subscribe a further £100,000, when

1. Despatch from Rt. Hon. T. Spring Rice to Governor Sir R. Bourke 15th. Nov. 1834.

2. Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1842.

3. England and America.

(6)

Lord Goderich objected to the proposal for self-government. The colonisers replied that they were willing to make any modifications in the charter for the South Australian Land Company which Lord Goderich might propose, on condition that the principles of land sales, systematic emigration, and future self-government were not interfered with. Lord Goderich considered this willingness to modify the proposed charter to be evidence that the scheme had not been properly thought out, and closed the negotiations. The settlers broke up, many joined the "rebellious Political Unions", and others sailed to the United States, with hard feelings toward England.

In 1833 Goderich was succeeded at the Colonial Office by Stanley. The hopes of the colonisers revived and a similar proposal was made to Stanley, with the modification that the Governor and all the officials of the colony were to be appointed by the Crown. These negotiations also fell through.

In the same year appeared Wakefield's book "England and America". This again revived the drooping spirits of the colonisers, and towards the end of the year a new society, called the South Australian Association, was formed. Early in 1834 a large body of settlers had been collected, and a new proposal was submitted to Spring Rice who had now succeeded Stanley at the Colonial Office. The government of the colony was to be left entirely in the hands of the crown. Spring Rice promised to support the scheme on condition that the Association had a capital of at least £50,000, and that no settlement was to take place until £35,000 had been secured from the sale of lands. A Bill was introduced into the House of

X 1. The Art of Colonisation. 1842.

Commons and passed in spite of opposition. It was expected that it would be thrown out by the House of Lords, but the strong support of the Duke of Wellington carried it through, and it became law on August 15th. 1834.

The provisions of the Act were to be carried out by a Board of ten Commissioners working in conjunction with a resident agent in the colony. They were given power to dispose of lands by auction at a minimum price of 12s per acre, and to employ the funds so secured in emigration. In order to provide for the expenses of government they were authorised to raise a loan up to the amount of £200,000, on the security of the ordinary revenue of the colony. In order to guard against the colony becoming a charge on the Imperial Exchequer the Commissioners were to invest the sum of £20,000 in Government securities. Trade affairs were delayed and the Commissioners did not take up their duties until ^{April} 1835. They continued to administer the affairs of the colony until January 1840, when the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners were appointed to take charge of all emigration in the empire.

Most of the Commissioners were ignorant of the principles of emigration, and the Chairman, Col. Torrens, had great difficulty in getting them to carry out the essential features of the Act.^{2.} A great weakness of the Act was the division of authority between the Commissioners in England and the Government in the colony.^{3.} The Commissioners were appointed by the Crown but were not responsible to the ministers of the Crown. Revenue was controlled by the colonial authorities, but the fund raised to defray the cost of government

1. First Report of the Colonisation Commissioners of South Australia 1836.
 2. Act of Colonisation & Fourth Report of South Australian Commissioners. 1840.
 3. Report of Select Committee on South Australia. 1841.

was confided in the Board of Commissioners.

Owing to disputes regarding the early surveys the occupation and cultivation of the land was delayed. The settlers congregated at Adelaide, and speculation in town lots became common. In 1838 Governor Hindmarsh was recalled and Col. Gawler was sent out as Governor. The powers of the Board of Commissioners were increased in an amended Act during the same year.^{2.} Surveys and sales were accelerated, and the colony seemed to be flourishing. In 1836 the Commissioners had sent out 941 emigrants, in 1837 the number emigrating was 1227, in 1838 it reached 3154, and in 1839 it was 5316. Up to 1840 land to the value of £262240.9.^{3.} had been sold. This was entirely out of proportion to the population of the colony. By the end of June 1840 land sufficient to support 100,000 inhabitants had been sold, while the population was only about 15,000.^{4.}

In January 1840 when the Board of Commissioners surrendered their authority to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners they piously congratulated themselves of the success of their efforts.^{5.} Their report was not presented until July, and, a few days after, the attention of the government was called to the hopeless state of the finances of the colony. Expenditure in 1839 had reached the sum of £140,000, while the revenue was about £30,000. The reason was that the total fund obtained from the sale of land had to be devoted to emigration, and all the expenses of survey, government, etc. had to be met out of the ordinary revenue. The Imperial Government authorised the new Commissioners to raise

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1. Fourth Report of Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia. 1840.
 2. Report of Select Committee on South Australia. 1841.
 3. Statistics of South Australia. Adelaide. 1843.
 4. Report of Committee on South Australia. 1841.
 5. Report of 1840.

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a loan, but this they found to be impossible, and the Imperial Government had to come to the aid of the colony. Garler was recalled and Governor Grey sent out, with instructions to make arrangements to decrease expenditure. By discontinuing public works, and decreasing public expenditure generally he reduced the annual outlay to £40,000. The discontinuance of public works led to unemployment, and consequent discontent of the part of some of the settlers. But the general effect of his administration was to remove the population from Adelaide to the farm lands in the country, and place the colony on a more productive basis.

A select Committee was appointed to enquire into the affairs of the colony. While some fault was found with the administration of the local government the chief part of the blame for the condition of the colony was charged to the ignorance of the South Australian Commissioners, and to the provisions of the South Australia Act¹. The Committee recommended the repeal of all former Acts, and the placing of the colony on the same footing as the other British Colonies. They also advised that the expense of surveys be met out of the fund derived from the sale of lands. By the system of sales at a uniform price the public had been deprived of any benefit accruing from the appreciation in the value of lands due to position, and increase of population. In order to secure this they advised the sale of lands by auction on the same principle as that adopted in New South Wales. It is interesting

1. Report of Select Committee on South Australia. 1841.

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to note that Wakefield, in his evidence before the Committee agreed to the advisability of devoting part of the proceeds of the land sales to the expense of surveys.

These recommendations were carried into effect in an Act passed in 1842. South Australia was placed under the control of the Colonial Office as an ordinary British Colony. The sum of £155,000 which had been advanced to the colony by the Imperial Exchequer was made a gift, and in addition £60,000 which had been drawn in bills by Gawler and Grey.^{1.}

The settlers, realising that the success of the colony depended on production, set to work to cultivate the land. Townships which had been previously in existence only on paper became real agricultural settlements. Soon the chief difficulties of the colony had been surmounted, and real prosperity began. This prosperity was further^{2.} increased by the discovery of copper in 1842 and 1844.

In 1842 the passing of the Waste Lands (Australian) Act gave to the Australian Colonies a uniform system of disposing of waste lands. By its provisions no land was to be alienated except by sale, open to public competition, at the minimum upset price of £1 per acre. Lands remaining unsold after being offered for sale by auction could be sold privately at a price not less than that at which they had been offered publicly. The minimum upset price could not be changed except by Act of Parliament. By this provision the control of the disposal of waste land, and the fixing of price ~~was~~ taken out of the hands of the Colonial Office. At least half of the proceeds of the land sales was to be devoted to emigration

1. 526 Vic. c. 61.

2. Handbook to South Australia. 1858.

and the remainder to be divided between surveys, making of roads, and care of the aborigines. This Act applied also to New Zealand.

The appointment of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in 1840 marks a new step in the emigration policy of great Britain. The first appearance of an emigration establishment the Imperial Votes was in 1834, when the sum of £1,457 was provided for seven half pay lieutenants of the Royal Navy who were appointed Emigration Agents at Liverpool, Bristol, Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Greenock.¹ In the same year the Board of Commissioners to administer the affairs of South Australia was appointed. These Commissioners were unpaid, as evidently the Government had not yet departed from the idea of assistance to emigrants being in the nature of a charity. In 1837 the Office of Agent-general for Emigration was created, and the holder of the office worked in conjunction with the Commissioners. The duties of the agents at the various ports was merely to enforce the various shipping regulations, and in general to protect the emigrants from those who were lying in wait to take advantage of their ignorance. In 1837, the Chairman of the Australian Commissioners succeeded in securing a salary. At the end of 1839 the Commissioners waited on Lord John Russell with the request that they also be remunerated for their services. Lord John Russell, who was not satisfied with the administration of emigration, took the opportunity of relieving the South Australian Commissioners of their duties, and appointed three Commissioners, known as the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to take charge of all the emigration within the Empire. The Commissioners were T. F. Elliot, who had been Agent-general

¹ Report of Committee on Agricultural Settlements. 1906.

² The Colonization of Australia (1829-1842). R. C. Mills. P. 245. note.

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~~XXXX~~ for Emigration, and whose office was merged in the new body. Col. Robert Torrens, Chairman of the South Australian Commissioners was also a member, and the third was the Hon. Edward Villiers.^{1.}

Lord John Russell, in his instructions to the Commissioners stated that the result of his enquiries into the present system of managing the crown lands in the colonies, and into the plans hitherto pursued in aid of emigration, was to convince him of the necessity for some new arrangement at once more comprehensive and more efficient. The duties of the new Commissioners were threefold. In the first place they were to collect accurate information regarding the colonies, and to supply this information to intending emigrants. Their second duty was to take charge of the sale of the crown lands. In carrying out this duty they had powers concurrent with the Governor of the colony. This however did not apply to British North America. Their third duty was to take charge of the actual removal of emigrants to the colonies, and ensure that only the right type of emigrant was sent out.^{2.} The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners were not abolished until 1878. In the meantime government grants in aid of emigration had been made from time to time, amounting to as much as £20,000 in one year.^{3.} In 1834 an Act was passed enabling parishes to mortgage their rates, and to spend the money so secured in assisting the emigration of paupers in sums not exceeding £10 per head. This right does not seem to have been extensively used.

The influence of Wakefield and his followers produced a remarkable change in the character of emigration from the

1. Commission of "the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1840
2. Instructions to Commissioners from Lord John Russell. 1840.

3. Report on Agricultural Settlements. 1906.

British Isles. In the earlier period emigration had been considered to be the last resort in the extremity of distress. It was confined chiefly to paupers. The system of transporting convicts had the effect of giving to the popular mind the idea that emigration was something not quite respectable. The evidence given before the Select Committee on Transportation in 1837 led to a change in the value attached to the transportation of convicts. Transportation to New South Wales was abolished in 1840. It continued in Van Diemen's Land until 1853. But the Wakefield system had caused emigration to appeal to a much better type of citizen during the thirties. Amongst the emigrants were now to be found representatives of all classes of society, so that the work of colonisation was reproducing civilised society on virgin soil, "instead of that mere emigration which aimed at little more than shovelling out paupers to where they might die without shocking their betters with the sight or sound of their last agony".¹ The volume of emigration from 1831 to 1840 reached the total of 703,150, or almost treble that during the period 1821-1830.²

"The general British attitude towards colonies was changing. Colonial waste lands, which had been looked upon as useless, or as a means of rewarding officials or official favourites, had come to be recognised as the chief element of colonial prosperity, to be disposed of only with due regard to the welfare of the colony and the mother country. Emigration, which had been haphazard and unregulated, and had been treated merely as a means of ridding the mother country of surplus population, or

1. Speech in the House of Commons by Charles Bullen on Colonisation.
Reprinted in The Art of Colonisation. 1849
2. Comparative Tables in Emigration Statistics for 1889, See Appendix I. 1843.

of undersirables, was now regarded as a means of building up prosperous communities, and benefiting both them and the mother country. The regulation of emigration was now considered to be so important as to be worthy of the attention of a department of government. Colonies, too, were ceased to be looked on only as a sphere for the benevolent autocracy of the Secretary of State and his advisers. It was gradually being recognised that, in various parts of the empire, states were growing up whose citizens claimed to enjoy political rights not materially different from those enjoyed at home. The era of self-government in the form of responsible government was dawning, and this necessarily caused the people at home to look upon the colonies with different eyes".^{1.}

The period of depression in the Australian Colonies which commenced in 1841 continued until 1846. Bounties on emigrants were suspended in 1842, and assisted emigration ^{ceased in 1844 and} did not re-commence until 1847. Land sales began to fall off in 1842. Those who were opposed to the Land Sales Act, and who thought that the price of land was too high attributed this falling off to the provisions of this Act. But the truth was that the Australian Colonies were passing through a normal experience in the history of new settlements. Over-enthusiasm had led to over-speculation, and progress in the Colonies had been more rapid than was warranted by their real productive development. In 1843 there was some unemployment at Sydney, and a number of artisans were employed on public work. In this year there was a general decrease in

1. The Colonisation of Australia. R. C. Mills.

to all places.

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emigration from the British Isles following the large emigration which took place in 1841 and 1842. In the former year 118,592 emigrants sailed from British and Irish ports, and in 1842 the number was 128,344, while in 1843 the total was only 57,212. This decrease seems to have been due chiefly to conditions in the Australian Colonies, and on the North American continent. Owing to the depression in the United States which commenced in 1837 there was not the same opportunity for employment. The amount of employment in British North America was also limited. Some of those who had emigrated in 1842 had returned bringing unfavourable reports, and this had the effect of discouraging emigration.

In 1845 conditions in New South Wales began to improve.

The depression had the effect of compelling many families who had been living in the towns to move into the country and take up land. In that year only 367 assisted emigrants reached the Colony. In 1846 none were assisted, and only 396 arrived who paid the cost of their passage. Over 200 children had been left behind by parents who had emigrated previous to 1842, and it was found impossible to have these sent out before 1847. In 1847 emigration to New South Wales was renewed. The Colony had passed through the crisis and its finances were now in such a condition as to warrant permission being given to issue debentures for £100,000 in order to renew assisted emigration. From the opening of emigration to the end of the year almost 9,000 emigrants were assisted, and in ~~xxx~~ 1848 the number assisted was 18,611. These all went to New

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South Wales, the Port Philip district, which was rapidly developing and reaching the stage when it was becoming worthy of autonomous existence as a State, and to South Australia. Van Diemen's Land was still suffering from surplus of labourers, due chiefly to the presence of the convicts. A settlement was founded in North Australia to relieve the pressure in Van Diemen's Land but with little effect. There was also some movement from Van Diemen's Land to Port Philip. Western Australia was still in a backward condition, and emigration to that Colony was insignificant.

It was at this time that the regulations for assisting emigrants were somewhat relaxed, and those not regularly eligible were given assistance on payment of part of the cost of the passage. There were over 2500 so assisted in 1848. Sometimes a deposit was made by those living in the Australian Colonies on behalf of friends in the British Isles whom they wished to be assisted to emigrate. The total number assisted in 1849 to reach Australia was 18,709, but in 1850 it had fallen to 6,830. This falling off was due to two causes. The large number sent out since the re-opening of emigration had restocked the depleted labour market, and in 1850 conditions in the British Isles had greatly improved, and employment was much more plentiful. A feature of Australian emigration during these years was the emigration of 1666 female domestic servants, and also a number of boys from the Parkhurst Prison, and a number of orphan children from Ireland. From 1847 to 1851 the total cost of assisted emigration to the Australian

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£800,000.

£102,000

Colonies was £XXX,XXX. £XX,XXX of this was paid by the emigrants themselves. The total number of emigrants assisted was ^{39,682.} 11,111.

The Australian Colonies had little attraction for the emigrants from Ireland. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The Commissioners ^{a proportion of} included ~~Irish~~ Irish emigrants amongst those sent out, but they did not meet with much encouragement from the Colonies. 621 of the emigrants sent out were from Ireland, but the Colonial authorities thought that this number was more than a fair proportion from Ireland. The emigration of orphan children from Ireland was also stopped in 1850 at the request of the Colonies. This lack of appreciation of the merits of the Irish was ^{chiefly} due to the fact that the original settlers in Australia were largely people from England possessed of some capital. Having the right to nominate emigrants to be assisted in proportion to the amount of capital expended in land in the Colony they naturally nominated those from their own districts.

The foregoing facts reveal the contrast which emigration to Australia presents to that proceeding to Canada. Australian emigration originated entirely with the government. Emigrants were assisted by the funds derived from the sale of public lands, and emigration was conducted under public control. Prior to the Land Regulations of 1831 emigration to Australia was an insignificant trickle. The system of assisted emigration advocated by Wakefield and his followers was the foundation of the Australian Colonies, and of New Zealand. The cost of the passage was prohibitive to the class usually desiring to emigrate, and had it not been for the assistance given by the Land Fund the develop-

most of the Australian Colonies would doubtless have been long over-
 delayed. The North American Colonies, on the other hand, because of
 their proximity, and the cheapness of the passage had always
 proved attractive. There was no need for government interference.
 The North American Colonies continued
 free and undirected. During the ten years from 1837-1846 inclusive,
 740,000 emigrants went to British North America and the United
 States. In the same time 100,754 emigrants went to Australia and
 New Zealand. Of this number 20,000 went out at their own expense,
 and 80,500 were assisted from the Land Fund. These figures will
 show the importance played by the Wakefield system, even though
 it may have been imperfectly applied. Van Diemen's Land was still unable to receive labourers.
 In 1849 an attempt was made to encourage small capitalists to settle
 there in order to provide for greater employment. Persons depositing
 200 at the Bank of England to the credit of the Land and Emigration
 Commissioners were given a certificate value double this amount
 for the purchase of land in Van Diemen's Land. The purchase had
 to be made within eighteen months from the time of deposit. Such
 depositors were given a free passage for themselves, their families, and
 servants, up to two thirds the amount of their deposit. However
 even these favourable terms do not seem to have proved very
 attractive, and little additional emigration resulted from these
 regulations.

3.

The year 1851 marks the end of the era of beginnings in
 the Australian Colonies. In that year gold was discovered, and a

Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1847.
 Appendix 20 to the Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration
 Commissioners. 1851.
 Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1852.

complete change took place in these colonies. Gold had been discovered in 1849 in California, and had caused a small amount of emigration from Sydney and from New Zealand. The story of the discovery of gold in Australia and the means adopted by the officials to deal with the situation forms a fascinating subject, but one which is outside the bounds of this study. Everybody rushed to the "diggings," and even Government officials caught the fever, and it was found necessary to raise their salaries fifty per cent. to retain them at their posts. New South Wales took the rush with a certain degree of coolness, but imagination can picture the 20,000 "diggers" in the district of Mount Alexander in Victoria, and the deserted ports at which thousands of emigrants arrived towards the end of the year 1851.

The rush to the goldfields caused a dearth of agricultural labourers and shepherds in the country, and there was a danger that the wool clip would be lost. Already a large voluntary emigration to Australia from the British Isles had commenced, but this was directed mainly to the goldfields. Persons were sent out who for physical or other reasons were not likely to be attracted to the "diggings". Emigrants were sent from the Western Highlands through the instrumentality of a Society formed under the patronage of Prince Albert. This party sailed in the "Hercules" and had a somewhat unfortunate voyage. Encountering a storm the ship had to put in at Rothesay. When again under way small-pox was discovered on board and a stop was made at Cork. Eventually after much delay the emigrants reached South Australia where they were well received.

Owing to the attraction which the gold-fields had for seamen difficulties of transportation arose. In August 1852 no less than 74 vessels were lying in Hobson's Bay, having been deserted by members of their crews. The seamen on getting tired of the "diggings" would return to the ships and demand £50 or £60 for the return voyage. The result was that the cost of the passage to Australia soon rose from £10 to as much as £23. Owing to the large number wishing to reach Australia larger ships had to be used. The crowding led to an increase in the mortality on board, especially amongst the children. This led to a refusal to accept families with more than two children under ~~14 or 15~~ 7 or three under 10. The spontaneous emigration to Australia consisted largely of single men, and the Emigration Commissioners decided not to assist any such who were not members of families. At the same time they gave greater facilities for emigration to single women.

The discovery of gold marked the turning point in the development of the Australian Colonies. An era of prosperity was inaugurated which was beyond the wildest dreams of those who had struggled to lay the foundations. The day of beginnings was over, and success was assured.

It may be convenient in connection with emigration to Australia to mention the movement to South Africa which began in the forties owing to the encouragement given by the Emigration Commissioners. This emigration was conducted on the same lines as that to Australia. Evidently the hopes of those who were so enthusiastic about the Cape of Good Hope as an outlet for the surplus population of the British Isles after the close of the Napoleonic wars were not fulfilled. The emigration of 1820 was not followed by that steady stream which its promoters seemed to see in prophetic vision. The Cape did not prove attractive of itself, and for reasons already given pauper emigration was

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directed to the North American Colonies. However the Cape of Good Hope was not forgotten for in 1840 we find a Commission enquiring into the treatment of certain apprentices who had been sent out. These apprentices were largely employed in domestic work, and evidently some of them met the fate which usually attends those who fall unprotected into the hands of those who have purely commercial minds. The persons to whom these children were apprenticed paid the sum of £9 for the privilege of taking charge of them, and it was suggested that this transaction savoured of slavery. In 1840 there were 750 of these apprentices in the Colony.

At this time there was no regular system of disposing of waste land in the Cape of Good Hope, and there was little evidence of any extensive desire for land purchase. In some instances the amount received for land did not pay the expenses of survey and sale. But some one made enquiry as to how land could be bought, and getting little satisfaction at the Cape, made further enquiries in London. The result was that in 1844 a scheme was drawn up under which anyone desiring to buy land could apply to have it surveyed and offered for sale. In this way sales commenced in that year. In 1845 the local government evidently woke up to the fact that the arrival of emigrants in the Colony might be a good thing, and the sum of £10,000 was voted by the Council for the purpose of defraying the cost of bringing emigrants from Europe.

In 1843 the sovereignty of the Queen was declared

1. Report of Commission on the Treatment of Children sent to the Cape of Good Hope. 1840. See *infra* B. Letter XIV. on Emigration of Children.
2. Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1842.
3. Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1845.

See also History of South Africa. Threl. vol. IV. P 185-189. These apprentices were sent out by the Children's Friend Society which was founded in 1830. The hostile avowed in England by reports of ill-treatment of children in S. Africa was out of all proportion to the facts. The Society was dissolved in 1841 as a result of this hostility.

over the district of Natal. An enquiry was instituted into the titles to land of the settlers there, and an attempt was made to regulate the various claims, and place the district on a stable basis. A bounty was given on labourers brought to the Cape of Good Hope along the same lines as had been adopted in Australia. The first party under the new system arrived in 1846, but the circumstances of the Colony did not admit of an extensive emigration. However the Land Revenue in 1847 amounted to £22,291, and the prosperity of the Colony was increasing. In this year a further £10,000 was voted to assist emigration. In Natal an attempt was made to organise a company to promote cotton growing, and land was granted for this purpose. But this proved a failure. The land which had been reserved for the company was sold to Mr. Byrne under a somewhat fantastic system of sale which had been adopted by the Commissioners. This scheme provided that for each £1,000 deposited with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners a certificate of value was issued. The depositor could take out the emigrants himself, on condition that they were provided with proper transport, and that on arrival they were furnished with 20 acres of land at the cost of £10. On a certificate being produced of the landing of the emigrant in Natal £10 for each emigrant so introduced was refunded by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to the depositor. Mr. Byrne deposited £14,000, and in all £19,000 was deposited under the scheme. 2,211 emigrants were taken out, but great difficulty was experienced in making the grants.

1. Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1847.

of land, and the amount was found to be too small to be of any value to a settler. The emigrants who were most successful were those who gave up their claim to the 20 acres and took up their own trade or calling in the colony. The system was discontinued. 1.

In 1847, after the close of the Kaffir war the boundaries of the colony were extended, and about 50,000,000 acres taken under the control of the Government. In 1849 the sum of £16,000 was voted for emigration, making a total since 1845 of £36,000. In 1850 1073 emigrants were sent out. But in spite of the efforts of the local government, and of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, the number of emigrants proceeding to South Africa remained insignificant as compared with that to the other parts of the Empire. 2.

1. Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1851.

2. The comparative unimportance of emigration to South Africa may be seen from the following figures:

Emigrants sent out in	1841	-	55.
	1842	-	104.
	1843	-	357.
	1844	-	270.
	1845	-	406.
	1846	-	545.
	1847	-	
	1848	-	795.
	1849	-	1342.
	1850	-	1037.
	1851	-	

The Wakefield Theory in Practice. - New Zealand.

Although Wakefield had superintended the drafting of the South Australia Bill, and had taken a very active part in organising and advertising the movement in its early stages, he had nothing to do with the later administration of the colony. This was probably due to the death of his daughter, which took place at this time, and necessitated his being out of England for some time. He was not quite satisfied with the South Australia Act because the original Bill had been so modified as to depart materially from the scheme he had in mind in originating the project. On his return to England his zeal for colonisation was directed towards New Zealand, now the only country where it was possible to give his theory a fair trial.

In 1825 a Company ^{Rad Burn} ~~was~~ formed, with Lord Durham at its head, for the purpose of planting a colony in New Zealand. Land was bought, and 72 labourers taken, to Hokianga, but the enterprise was not successful, and in 1827 practically all these colonists had migrated to New South Wales.

In 1832 thirteen Maori chiefs inhabiting the Bay of Islands sent a petition to the Great Chief of the British Empire asking for protection against an offending tribe, and also against certain British subjects who caused the natives annoyance. In answer to this petition a British Resident was sent to New Zealand in 1832. The Resident was without power to enforce his commands, and the previous condition of things was maintained, with the exception that the Resident was there as a spectator.

In 1834 a number of native Chiefs were united under the title of "Confederated Chiefs ~~f~~ the United Tribes of New Zealand", and declared by the British Government to be an independent State. They were presented with a flag, which was saluted by a British man of war. The new State, being largely under the direction of the missionaries was characterised by Wakefield as a "Levitical Republic".¹ However, this act does not seem to have been taken very seriously by anyone, and British subjects continued to go to New Zealand for trade and other purposes ^{they} ~~as~~ ^{done.} ~~had formerly been the case.~~ In 1814 British Missionaries had commenced the work of civilising^s, and Christianising the aborigines. They had acquired great influence with the natives, and were strenuously opposed to all schemes of colonisation as they considered that intercourse with Europeans was not helpful to native morals, and they desired New Zealand to be a missionary "preserve". But nothing was allowed to stand in the way of the enthusiasm of Wakefield and his followers.

In 1837 The New Zealand Association was formed. This society differed from former societies in that the members had no pecuniary interest in the project they were advancing. Its formation may be best described in Wakefield's own words. "We met and formed a society. The first principle that we laid down was that the society should be rather of a public than of a private character: and that at all events no member of it should have any pecuniary interest in the object in view. The only object of the society was to bring the subject before the public and Parliament, and not to take any part as individuals in what might

¹ Report of Select Committee on New Zealand. 1840.

"be the result. After putting forth to the public a printed pamphlet in which was published a statement of the objects of the Society, the next step which they took was to get together a number of persons who wished to go out to New Zealand, and settle there. Those persons formed themselves in a body, which may be properly called an intending colony. They were a body of people who separated themselves from society here, and formed themselves into a distinct society for the purpose of establishing themselves in New Zealand, provided the Association should succeed in its public object. As soon as this body was formed, which comprised a number of persons of some station, of good education, and considerable property, the Association made its first communication to the Government." 1. The New Zealand Association had grown out of the Committee on Waste Lands which met in 1836, and its aims were to carry out the recommendations of that Committee.

In 1837 a pamphlet was issued giving the aims of the Association. (2.) The Wakefield system was to be taken as the basis of their efforts at colonisation. The desire of the Association was not only to colonise New Zealand, but to preserve and civilise the natives. Land was to be sold at a uniform price, and might be sold either in England or New Zealand. A proportion of the purchase money was to be devoted to local improvements, and the remainder was to form an emigration fund. The ordinary revenue of the colony was to be raised by taxation. In order to initiate the project a loan was to be raised. The scheme generally was based on the South Australia Act.

A petition was addressed to Lord Melbourne, who was then Prime Minister. An interview was arranged, at which Lord Howick was present. A draft of a Bill for founding a colony was submitted. Lord Howick suggested alterations, but further progress was held up by the death of William IV. However, encouraged by the favourable reception the project had received, the Association presented its scheme to the public, and when parliament met again in December a considerable body of people, prepared to emigrate, had been collected. Then came a second interview with Lord Melbourne, at which Lord Glenelg was present. Many objections to the scheme were made by Glenelg, and the official attitude was

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1. Report of Select Committee on New Zealand. 1840. P 1-2.
 2. The British Colonisation of New Zealand, being an account of the principles, objects, and plans of the New Zealand Association. London. 1837.

decidedly antagonistic. About 17 or 18 of the members of the Association were present, and as some of these had disposed of their property with a view to emigrating a certain amount of ~~the~~ feeling was ¹ displayed during the interview. A week later another interview was arranged with Lord Glenelg, and the official attitude was more favourable. This change had been produced by despatches which had been received from New Zealand. The Association was asked to form itself into ² a joint stock company. To this the Association objected since it was a direct departure from the principles on which they had formed the society. They decided to appeal to Parliament, and a Bill was introduced in 1838. This Bill was opposed by the Government, and was rejected.

The opposition of the Colonial Office to the colonisation of New Zealand was largely due to the influence of the Church Missionary Society. Dandeson Coates, the lay secretary of the Church Missionary Society, had determined to thwart the New Zealand Association "by all means in his power". He had powerful influence with the officials of the Colonial Office, and the policy of the government with regard to New Zealand was formed chiefly on the basis of the policy of the Church Missionary Society, and the information supplied by its officials.

The New Zealand Association, having been defeated in Parliament, now fell back on the offer of Lord Glenelg to allow the Association to become a joint stock company.² But the Marquess of Normanby, who was now at the Colonial Office, refused to acknowledge any previous promises. He contended that the circumstances

1. Report of Committee on New Zealand - 1840.

2. Standard Notice to Normanby. 4/3/1839.

were now different from what they were when Lord Glenelg had requested the Association to form itself into a joint stock company. Also the proposed members of the Company were different from those of the Association. ^{1/} However the colonisers were determined to proceed with the colonisation of New Zealand and the New Zealand Land Company was formed by the amalgamation of the three companies already in existence, namely, the Colonisation Company which had been recently formed, The New Zealand Company of 1825, and the New Zealand Association of 1837. Lord Durham, who had been instrumental in forming the original New Zealand Company became head of the new Company. ^{2/} They announced to the government their intention to form a colony in New Zealand, and to establish a government independent of the British Crown. Lord Normanby replied that he could not sanction this, that the government could not recognise the agents of the company, and that no pledge could be given that the Government would ~~recognise~~ acknowledge the title of the Company to lands purchased from the natives. ^{3/} Since New Zealand had been declared to be an independent State by the British Government, the Company felt themselves justified in proceeding with their arrangements in the face of these pronouncements. Capital to the amount of £100,000 was paid up, and a preliminary expedition sailed on May 5th. 1839 to purchase land and make arrangements for the arrival of settlers. This expedition was in charge of Colonel William Wakefield, brother of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Large purchases of land were made from the natives in exchange for a conglomeration of articles ranging from muskets and ammunition to valueless trinkets. These purchases were made

1. Labouchere to Standish Mette. 11/3/1839.

2. Standish Mette to Normanby. 4/3/1839. & Durham to Normanby. 22/5/1839

3. Labouchere to Mette. 1/5/1839.

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without a real appreciation of the native system of property, or of the rights of those who had already obtained land from the natives. In one instance Wakefield purchased land which was the property of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

Seeing that the New Zealand Land Company was determined to proceed with the work of colonisation, the Government now decided to send a Lieutenant Governor to New Zealand. He was

to establish British authority under the direction of the Governor of New South Wales. ^{1.} Captain Hobson was appointed to this office, and was sent out to obtain the cession of land from the natives. It was now discovered that the recognition of native

independence referred to the North Island only, and in reality had been merely nominal. However Hobson was to obtain the consent of the natives to their land becoming the property of the British Government. ^{2.} Nevertheless it was still maintained that New Zealand was not a British Colony. ^{3.}

When on the ^{16th. of September} ~~XXXXXX~~ 1839 a body of settlers sailed to New Zealand they entered into a compact to establish and maintain British law. An umpire or unofficial judge was appointed to administer justice. This was declared to be treason, and instructions were sent that the scheme was not to be carried into effect. ^{4.} Lord John Russell sent instructions to the Governor of New South Wales that a body of settlers had sailed under the direction of the New Zealand Land Company without proper government authority, and ignorant of the conditions prevalent in New Zealand,

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1. Under Secretary Stephen to Spearman. 13/6/1839. and Normanby to Lords Commissioners of Admiralty. 1/6/1839.
 2. Normanby to Hobson. 14/8/1839. and 15/8/1839.
 3. Stephen to Sharpe. 7/9/1839.
 4. Russell to Gipps. 4/12/1839. → Stephen to Young - 19/9/1839 (enclosure)

and of the relations of the government to New Zealand. Notwithstanding this Governor Gipps was instructed to treat the colonists with consideration. ^{1.} with the Colonial Office. An interview was requested of behalf of the New Zealand Land Company by Lord Petre, but this was refused by Lord Normanby as the Government did not officially recognise the Company.

On January 14th. 1840 Hobson was proclaimed Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand, and British authority was extended to the islands. On the same date Gipps proclaimed that no titles to land purchased ~~from~~ ^{from} the natives would be recognised by the Crown unless they were derived from and confirmed by Her Majesty. This was done in order to control the activities of the New Zealand Land Company, and also a host of land speculators at Sydney who were waiting to pounce on the spoils in the new territory. A Commission was to be appointed to enquire into the land titles and see that justice was done to all. ^{2.}

This consummation was hastened by certain French claims to New Zealand. Baron de Thierry had purchased land, and was endeavouring to establish a French Colony. The fact that Great Britain had recognised the independence of New Zealand encouraged French enterprise. The New Zealand Land Company knowing of this were anxious to get established in the islands first. Realising that there was the possibility of the British Government interfering with their project the preliminary expedition was hurried away. Then the British Government seeing that it had become inevitable that they should establish British

1. Russell to Gipps 4/12/1839.

2. See Proclamations of Sir Geo. Gipps, dated 14/1/1840. extending jurisdiction of New South Wales to New Zealand, proclaiming Hobson as Lieut-Governor, and stating that all land-titles must be from the Crown.

rule also entered the race. In December 1838 it had been decided to appoint a British Consul in New Zealand,¹ but in the new circumstances the status of the official in charge of British interests was raised to that of Lieut-Governor.² On January 30th, 1840, Hobson issued proclamations at Kororarika similar to those issued by Gipps at Sydney, so that the first party of colonists found on their arrival that they had to deal not only with the officials of the New Zealand Land Company but also with the British Government.

Hobson, on his arrival in New Zealand, summoned together as many of the native chiefs as possible at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands. The ^{ceremony} was arranged with an impressiveness worthy of the occasion. The missionaries had been used as heralds, and were now used as interpreters of the wishes of Great Britain to the native chiefs. After a display of eloquence on both sides it was arranged that the native chiefs should cede their lands to Great Britain. In return they were guaranteed possession of their lands, and the protection of British arms as subjects of Great Britain. In case of sale of their lands the British Crown was given the right of preemption. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the chiefs on February 6th, 1840, and in a few days, through the instrumentality of the missionaries, the signatures of 512 native chiefs had been appended. Meantime the French were continuing their activities. But Middle Island was taken over by Hobson in May, and Banks' Peninsula, where the French intended establishing a colony was taken

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 2. The British Government signified their intention of ~~placing~~ New Zealand under the control of New South Wales, on 15/6/1839, but this was not proclaimed until 14/1/1840.

1. Glenelg to Gipps. 1/12/1838.

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over just four days before the arrival of the French frigate to establish a colony of France.

Now that New Zealand had actually become a colony of Great Britain the problem before the newly constituted authority was to adjudicate between the various rival claimants to ownership of the land. In the first place there were the natives. The practice of the native tribes seems to have been to claim title to land which they had occupied at any time. Thus the same piece of land might be owned by several different tribes. In the next place there were the missionaries, who in some cases claimed the right to extensive tracts of land. There were also between 2000 and 3000 British subjects who had settled in New Zealand previous to 1840.

And, lastly, there was the New Zealand Land Company which had purchased large tracts of land to which they claimed legal title.

The antagonism ^{to the New Zealand Land Company} which had been displayed by the Colonial Office during the period of its formation was continued by Governor Hobson. There is little doubt that there were misunderstandings and faults on both sides. After the death of Lord Durham in 1840 the commercial element in the New Zealand Land Company

became more prominent. Their principal settlement was at Port

1. After the death of Lord Durham Edward Gibbon Wakefield endeavoured to persuade Sir William Molesworth, who had invested heavily in the New Zealand Land Company, to become the leader of the New Zealand project. However Molesworth did not consider himself qualified for such a difficult task. Wakefield pointed out to him the great opportunity it would give him to perform a really national service. But Molesworth considered that he was wanted

Nicholson, but they had also extensive tracts of land at New Plymouth and Nelson, where colonies were formed in 1841. It was at these places that the main British population was located. But Hobson chose Auckland as the seat of government. He evidently considered himself to be before everything else the protector of the aborigines. He, too, was largely under the influence of the missionaries. The distance between the main British settlements and the seat of government made the adjustment of differences more difficult.

The appointment of the Commissioner to enquire into the titles to lands was delayed. Settlers continued to arrive, and more land was taken up. The natives, having been given to understand that they had valuable proprietary rights in the land, became restive, and antagonistic towards the settlers. A Select Committee was appointed to enquire into the condition of things in New Zealand in 1840. This Committee reported that "when a conquering or acquiring State takes upon itself the task of determining rights of property, according to laws different from its own, there must always be some hazard of failure of justice; but such hazard is immeasurably increased in a case like the present, where it will be necessary to adjudicate upon rights claimed by

chiefly as a "dodgy duck" to attract settlers, and a "pigeon" to be plucked by all who had a grievance. "Besides", he wrote, "there is too great an inclination on the part of Wakefield for stage effects, and too much will depend on them to satisfy me; for my feelings are revolted by such a course of proceeding. And, lastly, I can't put reliance on Wakefield because he has too many projects afloat". Life of Sir William Hobbes, 1838, p. 176.

British subjects in a country where so-called sovereigns have been savages; where nothing resembling a regular government, or an administration of justice, has ever yet been known; and where Englishmen have been residing for years past in a condition of society which can only be described as one of positive anarchy". This Committee supported the action of Sir Geo. Gips in proclaiming the authority of the British Crown over land titles, and recommended a Commission of persons having no personal interest in New Zealand to enquire into titles. They also recommended that holders of land on being confirmed in their titles should pay \$1 per acre for it, and that land vested in the crown should be sold at the uniform price of \$1 per acre, and not by auction. Parties having expended money on colonisation from the United Kingdom should be paid the amount of their actual expenditure out of the land fund, or granted the option of receiving land at \$1 per acre to an amount equal to that expended on colonisation. They further recommended that reserves of land should be made for the natives equal to one tenth of the land sold or otherwise disposed of.

These recommendations might seem to be just and reasonable, but the conflicting claims of the various interested parties in New Zealand made it practically impossible to carry them out. The New Zealand Land Company managed to secure the ~~XX~~ sympathy of Lord John Russell. In 1840 they were granted a charter of incorporation as a joint stock company. An agreement was entered into with Lord John Russell by which the Company was to receive one acre of land for every five shillings spent on colonisation.

1. Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand. 1840
Parliamentary Papers 1840 Vol VII/453.

or in the improvement of land. 531,929 acres of land were allotted to the Company by Russell, but before title to this had been given Russell was out of office. Lord Stanley, who succeeded Russell refused to be bound by the agreement of his predecessor, but agreed to give the Company a prima facie title which they were to defend against adverse claims. The Commissioner to investigate the land titles did not arrive until December 1841. Confusion reigned. The hostility of the natives had been increasing. A spirit of distrust had been engendered by the delay, and the insecurity of property. The policy of the Company's agents was to grab as much land as possible. In order to accomplish this they were prepared to use either the promise of Lord John Russell, or the fantastic purchases of Col. Wakefield. The Company held that the only land to which the natives had any right was that which they actually occupied. All the rest they contended was waste land and became the property of the Crown. In his speech during the New Zealand debate in the House of Commons in 1845 Charles Buller said, "God gave the earth to man to use - not to particular races, to prevent all other men from using; He planted the principle of increase in us; he limited our existence in no particular soil or climate, but gave us the power of ranging over the wide earth; and I know of no principle of reason, no precept of revelation, that gives the inhabitants of one valley in New Zealand a right to appropriate a neighbouring unoccupied valley, in preference to the Englishman who cannot find the means of subsistence at home. I apply to the savage no principle which I should not apply to the most civilised people of the world". But it might easily have been pointed out that

this principle would apply with equal force to the New Zealand Land Company.

The anxiety of the Company to secure land led in one instance to bloodshed. At Wairau they took over possession of some land still in dispute in June 1843, six weeks before the Land Court was opened there. They proceeded to build huts on the disputed property. These were pulled down and burned by the natives. This was declared to be arson, and a party went out to arrest the two chiefs implicated. The result was a fight, which ended in the death of four or five Maori men and women, and nineteen Englishmen, including Captain Arthur Wakefield.

In December 1840 New Zealand had been created a separate colony with Hobson as Governor. But owing to serious illness the administration of the affairs of the colony had to be left largely in the hands of subordinates. Hobson, ^{who died in September 1841,} was succeeded by Governor Fitzroy, but the condition of affairs did not improve. British prestige among the natives was rapidly waning. Eventually at the town of Russell the British flag was torn down by a party of natives. Strife seemed imminent everywhere.

Another Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the affairs of the colony in 1844. The Report of this Committee was favourable to the New Zealand Land Company. They reported that, "An attempt at colonisation upon a very great scale, and of the success of which high expectations had been formed, has hitherto failed to realise the sanguine hopes of its projectors; instead of obtaining those advantages on which they had confidently

reckoned as a reward for their enterprise, and the privations to which they have submitted, a large body of British settlers are at this moment in a situation giving ground for very serious anxiety, while the lives of several of their number have been unfortunately sacrificed; these unhappy results have moreover been connected with differences which have arisen not only between the settlers and the colonial authorities, but also between the New Zealand Company, and the executive government at home! The Committee considered the Treaty of Waitangi to be a mistake. New Zealand should have been taken over in the approved manner without any treaty, preferably in 1825 or in 1832. They held also that the basis on which the enquiry into the land titles was carried out was wrong. The enquiry should have been as to whether the land sold by the natives had been actually occupied by them. In the case of claims to land not so occupied the question was whether the claimants were entitled to compensation by the government, as they could have no right to such land since the natives had no right to alienate it. The high price given for land had demoralised the natives, and had also been a drain on the fund available for emigration, thus retarding the progress of the colony.

The awards of the land commissioner were at last published in 1843, and the huge purchases of Col. Wakefield amounting to about 20,000,000 acres dwindled to about 320,000. Sir Geo. Grey was appointed Governor in 1845 and a new era in the history of the colony began. Grey showed strength and ability in dealing with both

Report of Select Committee on New Zealand: 1844. Parl Papers 1844
Vol 13 P 3 full

natives and settlers. He proceeded with the purchase of land from the natives, and constructed roads. This gave outlet for further settlement and counterbalanced the narrowing of the activities of the New Zealand Land Company.

The Company made an unsuccessful appeal to Parliament in 1845 for redress of what it considered to be gross injustice, but the Government was victorious. It was seen that the Company had wandered far from its original philanthropic intentions, and had become a purely commercial concern. It had been the victim largely of its own rashness, and greed for land. Soon, however, the Company found itself in financial difficulties, and by an arrangement with the Government the sum of £156,000 was advanced to the Company on condition that if the loan were not repaid by 1850 it should resign its charter, and all its lands in New Zealand, and receive £268,000 as compensation, this latter to be paid out of the proceeds of the land sales in the colony. The Company was not able to repay the advance in 1850, and so came to an end, thus placing the entire control of the land in New Zealand in the power of the Crown. The sale of Crown Lands in New Zealand was carried out under the principles of the Australia Act of 1842. Land was sold by auction at the minimum upset price of £1 per acre, and half of the fund so secured was to be devoted to assisting emigration. In accordance with the principle established by the New Zealand Land Company in disposing of its lands, one tenth of all the lands disposed was reserved for the natives.

1. While the Government secured the support of the majority of the House there was a strong feeling that the Company had not been fairly treated. The Company had been rash in its early actions, but it was the means of securing New Zealand for the Empire, although doubtless had it not existed New Zealand would have been secured by some other means.

In spite of the difficulties which they encountered the New Zealand Company did much to encourage settlement in the colony. From May 5th. 1839 to July 5th. 1840 the Company had despatched 13 ships carrying 1350 passengers to New Zealand. 178 of these were first class passengers, 64 were second, and 1108 were steerage. In 1844 the number of emigrants sent out had been increased to 8893, 4907 of whom were male and 3986 female. The Plymouth Company of New Zealand, which had been formed by gentlemen in the west of England as a branch of the New Zealand Land Company, purchased over 60,000 acres from the original company, and from August 19th. 1840 to June 22nd. 1841 532 emigrants had sailed under its auspices to the new settlement at New Plymouth. Two thirds of the money received for land was to be devoted to emigration. Labourers of good character going out to work for wages were taken out free, and persons purchasing land to the value of £300 received back 25 per cent. of the cost of the passage. The settlement at Nelson was founded by the original Company. The first body of emigrants sailed in September 1841, and by March 1842 nearly 1,000 settlers had arrived.

Wakefield's enthusiasm was to find still further outlet in the daughter settlements of the New Zealand Company at Otago, and Canterbury. Wakefield had always been conscious of the influence of the moral factor in colonisation. This was one of his strongest

1. Statements of Emigrants sent out by New Zealand Company, appended to Report of 1844.

2. Information respecting the settlement of New Plymouth. 1841.

3. Nelson, New Zealand. 1842.

4. In 1849 Wakefield wrote of the Company, "The New Zealand Company was for years rather a Company for disturbing the Colonial Office, and usefully agitating colonial questions of principle, than for colonising, and now it is only a company for trying in vain to colonise."

Art of Colonisation. B. 415. ed Collier. 1914.

reasons for insisting the men and women be sent out in equal numbers. He emphasised particularly the value to a new colony of women of high character. In the "Art of Colonisation" he wrote, "You may make a colony agreeable to men but not to women; you may make it agreeable to women without being agreeable to men. You may induce some men of the higher class to emigrate without inducing the women; but if you succeed with the women, you are sure not to fail with the men. A colony that is not attractive to women is an unattractive colony: in order to make it attractive to both sexes, you do enough if you take care to make it attractive to women".¹. "As respects morals and manners, it is of little importance what colonial fathers are, in comparison with what the mothers are." He also claimed for religion an important place in colonial life. The New Zealand Company offered to endow a bishopric, and convey a bishop and his suite to the new colony. But it is likely that expediency strengthened conviction in the case of the New Zealand settlements. At any rate, Wakefield, who had a remarkable faculty of being all things to all men, and of making use of all sorts and conditions of men, was not slow to make use of religious sentiment in fostering his schemes.

The idea of having a Presbyterian settlement in New Zealand was first mooted in the midst of the Disruption controversy to found the colony of New Edinburgh in 1842. The proposition appeared in the Colonial Gazette on August 17th. in that year. In 1843 Governor Fitzroy was instructed by Lord Stanley to give every facility for the establishment of the settlement. In 1844 the district of Otago was selected. After

¹ Art of Colonisation. P. 156.

the Disruption in 1843 Free Church sentiment was used to popularise the movement. In 1845 the laymen took up the project. 144,600 acres of land were purchased from the New Zealand Land Company. Delays followed, chiefly due to the unsatisfactory position of the New Zealand Company, and it was not until the latter part of 1847 that the first settlers sailed. They landed at Otago in March and April 1848. Accompanying them was Rev T. Burns, nephew of the poet, and a Minister of the Free Church. The first party numbered 278 souls. In October 1848 the total population of the settlement was 444 Europeans, and 166 natives. Another party of 159 souls arrived before the end of the year. Progress in the settlement was very slow. The fund obtained from the land sales was not enough to provide for the running of the public affairs of the colony. Scottish enthusiasm for education was manifested in provision for education not only of the children, but of adults by special lectures and classes. By 1854 the population was 2400. 700 of these were in Dunedin, the name of which was chosen because being the Gaelic name for Edinburgh preserved a link of sentiment without the unwieldy prefix "New". In 1857 a special emigration agent was appointed and the sum of £20,000 was raised by debenture and loan, and devoted to assisting emigration. This caused the yearly increment of population through immigration to increase from 500 to 2800. The emigrants assisted were to repay the advances of money in one, two, or three years, but ten years after £13,000 was still unpaid. In 1861 came the gold rush. The settlement was deserted for the gold-fields, but soon the rush from other places not only refilled the settlement, but increased the population to over 78,000. This

was the beginning of the real prosperity of the colony, and its success may be judged by the fact that in 1871 there were over 100 public schools in the province, and the clergyman accompanying the first settlers, now Dr. Burns became the first Chancellor of Otago University.

The settlement at Canterbury was formed under the auspices of the Church of England. John Robert Godley, an Irish gentleman, had proposed to locate 1,000,000 Irishmen in Canada with a view to the greater prosperity of Ireland. The money necessary was to be borrowed, and the interest paid by extending the Income Tax to Ireland. The proposal was rejected by the Government, and Godley became interested in the project for the Church of England colony. As in the case of the Otago settlement negotiations were held up, and it was not until 1848 that the preliminary expedition sailed to arrange for the arrival of the colonists. In 1849 the work of arranging and superintending the colony was taken over by Godley. The first party of emigrants sailed in 1850. The aim was to establish a fully organised colony on the Wakefield plan. Great emphasis was laid on the preliminary preparations for the reception of the settlers, and also on the religious and educational needs of the community. Land was to be sold for £3 per acre. Ten shillings went to the New Zealand Land Company as original purchase price, £1 per acre was devoted to ecclesiastical and educational purposes, £1 ~~per~~ per acre was applied to assisting emigration, and the remaining ten shillings was for roads, surveys, etc. Colonists were to be persons of good character and members of the Church of England, although this latter was not rigidly enforced. ^{1.} A Bishopric

1. Plan of the Association for founding the Settlement of Canterbury. 1848.

and a Collegewere~~x~~ were to be endowed. In 1853 the Association ceased to function, and a Local Government was established. The price of land was reduced to £2 per acre. The fixed proportion of the fund devoted to ecclesiastical purposes was discontinued, and the sum of £10,000 was voted for the building of churches and schools. The original price of the land was found to be too high, and progress was slow in the colony for this reason. In 1863 the population ~~in 1863~~ was about 28,000, and at this time approximately 13,000 emigrants had been assisted to reach the colony.

The strong personality of Governor Sir Geo. Grey had much to do with the early success of New Zealand. The process of adjusting the land claims seemed almost interminable, but steadily the work was carried on. He gained the confidence of the natives, and one of his latest acts was to purchase the native land in the District of Wairarapa, near Wellington. Eventually the Crown obtained the control of all the waste land, including that originally secured from the New Zealand Company by the Canterbury and Otago Associations, and a uniform system of disposing of land was adopted. By 1852 the colonists in New Zealand numbered about 31,000. In that year an Act was passed granting New Zealand a Constitution. Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago were erected into provinces. A General Legislature was constituted, and with certain restrictions the disposal of waste land was vested in this Legislature. Thus ended the confused problem of New Zealand titles, which had its origin in official indecision, and private rashness and enterprise fifteen years before.

Canada and the Durham Report.

Apart from the actual advantages of settlement, Canada, because of its greater proximity to the British Isles, has always been more attractive to emigrants than the more distant dominions. This was particularly true during the earlier years of what may be called the modern period of emigration. The tide of emigration to Canada at this time reached its height in 1833 when 66,339 emigrants landed at its ports. It was even more attractive than the United States, and until 1835 continued to receive a greater number of emigrants from the British Isles than its southern neighbour. A somewhat remarkable feature of this early emigration is the number of Irish emigrants which continued to enter Canada. There is little doubt that these emigrants formed a large proportion of those who afterwards migrated to the United States, and the fact that from 1835 the United States received a larger number of emigrants from the British Isles may be attributed to the growing increase in emigration from Ireland. The Emigration Commissioners in 1832 had advised that no ^{financial} assistance be given to emigrants proceeding to Canada, as sufficient seemed to go there voluntarily and unassisted. From 1825 to 1846 626,628 emigrants landed at Canadian ports, while 710,410 found their way to American ports.¹ When the disastrous effect of the political troubles in Canada on emigration in 1838-39 is taken into account a comparison of these two figures gives evidence of the continued attraction of the Canadian provinces.

1. Appendix to Report of Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonisation from Ireland. 1847.

(2)

An Emigration Agent was stationed at Quebec, whose duties were to look after the interests of the emigrants on their arrival, and assist them to their destination. Lord Durham in referring to the defective arrangements for the reception of the emigrants minimised the usefulness of the work of this officer.¹ But the evidence given by this Agent before the Select Committee of 1827, together with his annual Reports, and a pamphlet which he contributed to the subject, would seem to indicate that he was in close and intelligent touch with the emigration movement, both theoretical and practical, even though his point of view may have been that of Wilmot Horton rather than that of Gibbon Wakefield.

As in the other Colonies of Britain, land companies played an important part in colonisation in Canada. Two of these were specially prominent, namely the Canada Land Company in Upper Canada, and the British American Land Company in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada.

The Canada Land Company was first given legal recognition by Act of Parliament in 1825. A charter was granted to the Company on August 19th. 1826. The object of the Company was to settle and cultivate the Crown and Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada, disposing of them by sale within certain limits. The idea was to form a company similar to the Hudson's Bay Company, but with a view to colonisation rather than trade. The formation, and early success of the Canada Company was due in a large measure to the energetic labours of John Galt, the Captain of the novelists. He was both versatile and talented, and his influence with the educated classes enabled

¹ The Durham Report. Vol. 2. P. 253. ed. Lucas.

² Emigration practically considered - in a letter to Wilmot Horton. By A. J. Richardson. 1828.

him to get into touch with the best type of English. His efforts were ably seconded by a number of men of ability and vision. "The Company at first contracted for the purchase of 1,584,413 acres of Crown Reserves, and 829,450 of Clergy Reserves at 3s.6d. per acre. The Government were, however, unable to perform their contract, as far as related to the Clergy Reserves, and, as a substitute, the Company were allowed to select 1,100,000 acres in a block on the shores of Lake Huron, at the same price for the whole as was to have been paid for 800,000 acres of the Clergy Reserves, making the whole of their purchase 2,484,413 acres; the purchase money was to be paid in the following annual instalments, namely, in the year ending July 1827, £20,000; 1828, £15,000; 1829, £15,000; 1830, £15,000; 1831, £16,000; 1832, £17,000; 1833, £18,000; 1834, £19,000; 1835, £20,000; and £20,000 a year for the next seven years. The Company was to be at liberty to expend one third of the purchase money of the block of 1,100,000 acres in public works, and improvement within such block of land, such as canals, bridges, roads, churches, wharfs, and school houses, &c".¹ The town of Guelph was founded in 1827. A road was constructed through the forest of the Huron purchase, and land communication established between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario. In 1829 there were four families in the new settlement at Goderich, but in 1838 it had a population of 5,000, and returned a member to the legislature. Stratford was also founded by the Company, and the town of Galt bears the name of the founder of the Canada Company. ~~In 1856 an Imperial Act~~

1. The Durham Report. Lucas. Vol. 1. P. 170. evidence of John Radenburt, chief clerk of the Surveyor-General's office, before Buller's Commission. See also the Canada Company - charts showing lots purchased. 2 vols.

Charles Buller in his report on Public Lands and Emigration wrote concerning this Company that "The sale to the Canada Company, though in form an exceptional method of disposing of public land, was in effect, and was intended to be, a delegation of the powers of government in this important particular to a private company, prompted, apparently, by the obvious ill success of the proceedings of the Government, and by the hope that persons having a deep pecuniary stake in the result of their measures would be more careful, and therefore more successful in their operations." The result he considered to have been fortunate, and more land was settled than would have been the case under Government control. This latter judgment applied also to the work of Colonel Talbot, to whom had been given the task of settling a large area around London, and in the western part of Upper Canada.

The British American Land Company received its charter in 1834. Arrangements were made for the purchase of 847,651 acres of land in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada for the sum of \$120,000, Crown Reserves and ~~the~~ surveyed lands were purchased at the rate of 3s. 6d. per acre, and unsurveyed land at 3s. per acre. The charter applied to all British North America, and Newfoundland, and the Company could hold land at any time to the extent of 3,000,000 acres. However, the activities of the Company were confined chiefly to the Eastern Townships. The charter of the Company was a bone of contention for the French-Canadian element in the Québec Legislature, as it was held that the Legislature should

1. Appendix B to the Durham Report. Lucas, Vol 3. P. 55.

have been consulted before any waste lands in the province had been alienated. The British American Land Company did much to bring the advantages of settlement in this part of the Canadas before the attention of the British public, and appealed especially to Scotland, and a scheme for the settlement of crofters in the Eastern Townships was laid before the Committee on the Highlands in 1841.

It is not necessary here to enter into the details of the complicated question of the systems of granting and disposing of lands in Canada except in so far as this affected emigration and settlement. "Nowhere in the world, perhaps, have lands and land tenure figured so largely in political history, as in British North America. A library of books might be written upon British North American Land questions without exhausting the subject, and probably without elucidating the most confusing questions which present themselves to anyone who studies the Blue Books and Reports".¹ From 1791, to 1806 the custom was to grant 1,200 acres to an individual who accepted the responsibility of settling the land so granted. After 1806 grants of 200 acres were made to actual settlers. From 1814 grants of land were made on condition that the settler should erect a house and cultivate four acres of land on the grant. In 1826 the system of sale by auction was established, the purchase money being payable by four annual instalments, without interest. Land could also be obtained subject to a quit rent, which was in reality payment of interest at five per cent. on the value of the

1. Introduction to the Durham Report. Lucas. P. 158

(6)

land. In 1831 instructions were issued by Lord Goderich that payment for land should be made in half-yearly instalments with interest, but this was not carried out. In 1837 instructions were issued by Lord Glenelg that the purchase money should be paid at the time of sale. So that the main fact to be kept in mind is that waste land in Canada was disposed of by sale. The control of the sale of land was in the hands of the Governor, and the proceeds went into the general revenue of the province.

By the Constitutional Act of 1791 land equal to one seventh of all the land disposed of was to be reserved for the support of a Protestant Clergy. No patent for any grant was valid unless it was specified therein that such a reserve had been made. The Executive Council, on the recommendation of the President who was a United Empire Loyalist, and had been a witness of the difficulties created in the American Colonies by revenue disputes, reserved a similar amount of land to provide a revenue for the Crown. Thus the Crown and Clergy Reserves amounted to two sevenths of all the land granted. These reserves proved to be a great hindrance to the development of the country, and to settlement. the method of making these reserves was as follows: the townships were divided into 200 acre lots. The first two lots in a township were open to settlement, then one lot was reserved for the clergy, the next two lots were open for settlement, and then one lot was reserved for the Crown, and the seventh lot was again open for settlement. It can easily be seen the hindrance which these 'leapfrogs' would cause to the development of the country. These reserves were allowed to lie waste, and they formed a formidable barrier to the

construction of roads. The establishment of the system of sale of land by auction virtually did away with the Crown Reserves, but the Clergy Reserves still remained in operation. In 1827 an Act was passed providing for the sale of a certain proportion of the Clergy Reserves, the fund so secured to be devoted to the improvement of the unsold Reserves. But when the Crown Reserves were sold ~~land~~ land was again reserved for the clergy, and the same thing applied to the lands from the Clergy Reserves which were sold. In the end about one fourth of all the land disposed of was devoted to the clergy, and evidently there was no end to the claims of the clergy so long as the principle of the divisibility of matter could be applied. However a matter which had been one of the most fruitful causes of trouble in Canada was ended in 1854 when the Clergy Reserves were secularised, and devoted to municipal purposes. This Act was entitled "An Act to make better provision for the appropriation of moneys arising from lands heretofore known as the Clergy Reserves by rendering them available for municipal purposes". This Act was inspired by the sentiment which had grown in Canada that it was desirable to "remove all semblance of connection between Church and State". 2.

The rush of emigrants to the British North American Colonies commencing in 1830 evidently put a great strain on the existing arrangements for dealing with the sick and the destitute. The chief burden fell on those who were charitably disposed at the ports of landing. Apart from the difficulty of

1. The Durham Report. Lucas. Vol. III. Appendix. B. Pp. 45-50.
2. Introduction to the Durham Report. Lucas. Pp. 294-297.

looking after the sick, and the unemployed properly, it was manifestly unfair that the burden of doing this should fall on the inhabitants of the ports. At the end of 1831 Lord Goderich sent a despatch to the Governors of Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, recommending the imposition of a head tax on all emigrants arriving in these provinces, the tax to be applied to the provision of hospitals to receive the sick, and to relief of the destitute generally. Acts embodying these instructions were passed early in 1832. The amount of the tax was five shillings per head, two children under fourteen years of age, and three children under seven being reckoned as one passenger. Penalties were imposed on ship-masters landing emigrants at places other than those approved, or making incorrect returns of the number of passengers carried. Wakefield considered that even this tax was unfair, as it compelled the most prudent of the emigrants to bear the burden of imprudence, and negligence in the others, and suggested that the benefits derived from the tax should have been secured by a more complete control of emigration to the British North American colonies along the same lines as that exercised in the case of the Australian colonies.

2.

1. Gibbon Wakefield accompanied Lord Durham on his mission to Canada, and the part of the Report dealing with public lands and emigration was undoubtedly inspired by Wakefield. Sir Charles Lucas writes, "Both before he went to Canada and after his return, Lord Durham was in close touch with Wakefield in the schemes for the colonization of New Zealand. In short, he and Charles Buller were alike in this matter Wakefield's disciples; Wakefield must be credited with the

There is abundant evidence to show that there was a great deal of overcrowding, and disease on board the emigrant ships. The Agent for Emigration at Quebec made frequent reference to the crowded condition of the ships on their arrival at that port. In 1835 an Act was passed repealing all previous legislation with regard to passenger traffic, and re-enacting practically the same provisions. This Act contained certain regulations for the inspection of ships, the amount of food and water carried, the amount of space given to passengers, and the furnishing of a return of all passengers carried. But notwithstanding the presence of Government officials at various ports these regulations seem to have been very generally evaded. The Inspecting Physician at the Port of Quebec reported, "I am at a loss for words to describe the state in which the emigrants frequently arrived; with a few exceptions, the state of the ships was quite abominable; so much so, that the harbour-master's boatmen had no difficulty, at a distance of gun-shot, either when the wind was favourable or in a dead calm, in distinguishing by the odour alone a crowded emigrant ship. I have known as many as from 30 to 40 deaths to have taken place, in the course of a voyage, from typhus fever, on board of a ship containing from 500 to 600 passengers; and within six weeks after the arrival

 special Report on the subject which bears Charles Buller's signature; and whoever actually wrote the main Report which relates to public lands and emigration, no one doubts that the inspiration came from Gibbon Wakefield! Introduction to the Durham Report. P. 156.

 1. See Reports of Agent for Emigration at Quebec.

2. 5 and 6 Will. 4, c. 56.

3. Originally seven officers were appointed. The number was increased to ten in 1837.

of some vessels, and the landing of the passengers at Quebec, the hospital received upwards of 100 patients at different times from among them". ~~77 1777~~ A quarantine station was established at Grosse Isle, some distance below Quebec, and in 1837 the physician there was given the power of deciding whether a vessel should be detained, or allowed to proceed to Quebec. Those who were ill with infectious diseases were landed there, and an attempt was made to prevent the spread of infections or contagious diseases to Quebec. Emigrant Societies were formed in Quebec and Montreal for the purpose of looking after the sick, and destitute emigrants, and performed very valuable service. But during the flood-tide of emigration it was impossible for the existing organisations to cope with the necessary work. The accommodation for the sick was in adequate. Inspection of ships arriving, and of the emigrants had to be performed hastily, and many mistakes were made.

The surgeons on the vessels were in many cases very imperfectly trained, and in some instances actually rendered an incorrect list of those sick on board on the arrival of the ship at Grosse Isle. Very often the other provisions of the Passenger Act were evaded. Insufficient food was carried. Various schemes were resorted to in order to keep within the law regarding deck space. Many emigrants were absolutely destitute on arrival, and were not in a fit condition to go to work after the strain of the passage. Generally speaking the Passenger Acts seem to have been very imperfectly adhered to. Another Act was passed in 1842, ~~but the~~

which seems to have improved the conditions somewhat. From 1842 to 1846 the deaths on the voyage to Canada did not exceed one half per cent., or five in every 1,000 persons embarked, and the deaths in quarantine did not exceed one and one third for every thousand persons embarked.

There is no doubt that the Durbin report does not by any means minimise the evils attendant on free emigration. An attempt was being made by Wakefield to introduce his system, or some modification of it into Canada. So that in ~~the~~ ^{study in} the part of the Report dealing with waste lands and emigration this fact must be kept in mind. Wakefield was a consummate propagandist, and it was hardly to be expected that this propensity would be any less in evidence when dealing with Canada. Evils certainly existed both in the conduct of emigration, and in the land system. But many of the evils attributed to these causes by Wakefield were partly due to other influences.

The restrictions of the Passenger Acts caused the cost of the passage to be greater. After the passing of the Act of 1825 an uproar was raised among the emigrants themselves against the increased cost. This had much influence with the Committee of 1827 which recommended the repeal of this Act. The food provided according to statute was not suited to the Irish emigrants. The ships used were inferior, and it was almost impossible to make them really comfortable. Crowds were anxious to emigrate, and the question was whether it would be a greater evil to hinder them from emigrating by prohibitive restrictions on shipping, or to allow them to endure inconvenience on the voyage. Then the condition of the peasants

in Ireland is considered even the worst class of ships must have savoured of luxury to the Irish emigrant. There were no boats constructed for regular passenger service, and from the ship-owners point of view the emigrants were merely outgoing cargo. The business had to be made profitable. Naturally the emigrants, being poor, wished to have the passage at as little expense as possible. It may have been quite easy to criticise, and point out what should be done, but when the whole situation is reconstructed the great difficulties confronting those who were actually directing emigration can be seen. A theory is easily constructed, but when it is flesh and blood, as being dealt with the ideal has often to give way to what is expedient.

The great difficulty in the way of introducing the Wakefield system in Canada was the profusion with which land had been granted in the past. Grants had been made to United Empire Loyalists, to retired soldiers, and to Government servants to such an extent as to render many of these grant practically valueless. Wakefield's scheme was to remedy the evils resulting from these grants, and at the same time to furnish a system for the future disposal of waste land. It was proposed that a tax of 2d per acre should be imposed on all uncultivated lands, and that the revenue so derived should be devoted to improving the means of communication, or facilitating the settlement of the country. This tax could be paid by surrendering to the Government land that had already been granted, in lots of not less than 100 acres, and at the value of 4s per acre. In this way it was hoped that some of the land granted

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would return to the Government, and would be at their disposal for settlement. All future sales should be made not by public auction, but at a fixed price. This price should be uniform in all parts of British North America. The price suggested was 10s per acre, and this was to be paid at the time of sale. Had land not been so cheap in the United States doubtless a larger figure would have been named. No limit was to be placed on the amount any man might buy. All reserves should be thrown open for sale and settlement. The fund derived from the sale of land, the tax on land and the timber licence was to be devoted to improving the means of communication, and to the introduction of emigrants. Assisted emigrants were to work for wages along the same lines as those assisted to the Australian Colonies. An Act of Parliament was to be passed giving force to the whole scheme. The administration of the Act was to be vested in a Commission in the United Kingdom, with subordinate commissioners at work in the North American Colonies. The supreme control was to be in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

as secure and profitable as in the United States; to promote the settlement of wild lands and the general improvement of the colonies; to add to the value of every man's property in land; to extend the demand for British manufactured goods, and the means of paying for them, in proportion to the amount of emigration and the general increase of the colonial people; and to augment the colonial revenues in the same degree".¹

¹ Durham Report, Lucas. Vol. 2. P. 328.

Lord Durham thought these measures to be amongst those fraught with greatest possibilities of good for Canada. He says, "In order to promote emigration on the greatest possible scale, and with the most beneficial results to all concerned, I have elsewhere recommended a system of measures which has been expressly framed with that view, after full enquiry and careful deliberation. Those measures would not subject either the colonies or the mother country to any expense whatever. In conjunction with the measures suggested for disposing of public lands, and remedying the evils occasioned by past mismanagement in that department, they form a plan of colonisation to which I attach the highest importance. The objects, at least, with which the plan has been formed, are to provide large funds for emigration, and for creating and improving means of communication throughout the provinces; to guard emigrants of the labouring class against the present risks of the passage; to secure for all of them a comfortable resting place, and employment at good wages immediately on their arrival; to encourage the investment of surplus British capital in these colonies, by rendering it as secure and profitable as in the United States; to promote the settlement of wild lands and the general improvement of the colonies; to add to the value of every man's property in land; to extend the demand for British manufactured goods, and the means of paying for them, in proportion to the amount of emigration and the general increase of the colonial people; and to augment the colonial revenues in the same degree".

1 Durham Report, Lucas. Vol. 2. P. 328.

It was, no doubt, a noble ideal which Lord Durham hoped to be attained for Canada, but the real contribution which he made to the welfare of Canada was in the realm of government rather than in that of lands and emigration. Sir Charles Lucas, in writing of this part of the Report, says, "It is true that no part of the whole inquiry was more detailed, more elaborated, or more complete, but, in the light of subsequent experience, it must be added that no part was so academic or so divorced from living realities. On paper the principles which Wakefield laid down were sound and broadly based; his reasoning was logical and conclusive; and indirectly his doctrines produced no little practical good. But new countries and the English race do not lend themselves to cut and dried systems. English emigrants go out to live as they think best, and not as they are ordered, and colonisation and uniformity have little in common. The success which Lord Durham credited to the Wakefield system was nowhere attained; indeed the system was never fully and consistently tried; and whatever scope there may have been for its application in Australia, in British North America the field was already too much occupied, the conditions which past history had evolved were too various, to make a uniform system for all the British North American provinces even a remote possibility."¹

Lord Durham took direct issue with the Government policy of laissez faire with regard to emigration to Canada. The Emigration Commissioners of 1832 had come to the conclusion that the attractions of Canada to emigrants were sufficient without

¹ Introduction to the Durham Report. P. 182.

any artificial stimulus being supplied in the form of state aid to emigration. But the Wakefield system was an empire system, and to Durham, Wakefield, and Hull there seemed to be no reason why any difference should be made in the case of Canada. While this section of the Report produced no direct result it had much influence in bringing about the formation of the Board of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in 1840. Their activities extended to Canada also and mention has already been made of the improvement in the condition of emigrant transport which followed the commencement of their labours.

As in the twenties so in this second period of emigration migrants continued to pass from Canada to the United

States. It is impossible to estimate accurately the proportional emigrants who re-emigrated in this way. There was considerable movement both ways, and it was estimated by some that these movements practically counterbalanced each other. But during the thirties the movement from Canada to the United States increased. Allowance must be made for those who travelled through Canada as the most direct route to the western frontiers of the United States, and also for those returning to Canada. The highest estimate places the number of those who re-emigrated to the United States shortly after their arrival in Canada from the British Isles at sixty per cent. of the total.¹ There were many reasons for this movement. The chief of these was the increase in the number of emigrants from Ireland. The majority of the Irish emigrants were essentially labourers. There was not so much demand for casual labour in Canada as there was in the United States. The temperament of the Celtic Irish did not fit them for the lonely life of the pioneer settler. They displayed a tendency to drift to the towns. They had many compatriots south of the border, especially in the New England States. Employment on public works was easily obtained. So the natural tendency was for large numbers of the Irish emigrants to drift where they found conditions more congenial. In this the Scottish emigrants showed a marked contrast to the Irish. The majority of the Scotch became settlers, and displayed their national characteristics in the early struggle with nature in the development of the isolated settlements. The greater economic

1. The Durham Report. Lucas. Vol. II. P. 217-218.

development of the United States proved an attraction to those whose patriotism had an economic basis. Roads, and the means of communication generally were much better in the United States than in Canada. Markets were more numerous, and more easily accessible. Land was more readily obtainable. There was an unfortunate lack of system in Canada in placing the new-comers on the land. The consequence was that many drifted to the United States where there was an admirable organisation for dealing with the settlers. In reality the United States was in the midst of that period of State expenditure for internal improvement which culminated in the crisis of 1837.^{1.}

The political troubles in Canada also fostered a disposition to move southwards. This affected more particularly those who had already settled in Canada. A society was in existence known as the Mississippi Emigration Society, which had for its object the facilitating of emigration from Upper Canada to the new territory of Iowa. But this propaganda did not have any material influence on the New arrivals. There was also a movement from Lower Canada. It had been customary for young men from French Canada to go to the Northern States during the summer to work for the high wages then obtained. Many of these eventually took up residence in the States. With the development of manufactures there was a still greater attraction for the French Canadians.

But an influence which had more direct bearing on the

1. Economic History of the United States. Vol. art. F. 214-216.

emigrants arriving from the British Isles was a spirit of exclusiveness which had grown up in the older settlements. The early settlers, many of whom had arrived ~~at the~~ at the time of the Declaration of Independence, had become a sort of aristocracy, which found its full fruition in the so-called Family Compact. As the number of emigrants coming from the British Isles increased there was a very marked division between the older settlers and the new emigrants. This may have been due to some extent to the character of much of the emigration during the twenties. The new emigrants soon comprised a large proportion of the population, yet all the positions of responsibility were occupied by the older settlers. Lord Durham reported that, "The emigrants who have settled in the country within the last ten years, are supposed to comprise half the population. They complain that while the Canadians are desirous of having British capital and labour brought into the ~~Colony~~ Colony, by means of which their fields may be cultivated, and the value of their unsettled possessions increased, they refuse to make the Colony really attractive to British skill and British capitalists. They say that an Englishman emigrating to Upper Canada, is practically as much an alien in that British Colony as he would be if he were to emigrate to the United States. He may equally purchase and hold lands, or invest his capital in trade in one country as in the other, and he may in either exercise any mechanical avocation, or perform any species of manual labour." ¹ Durham further enlarges on the disabilities

¹ The Durham Report. L.N.O.S. Vol. II. F, 168.

of ~~XXXXXX~~ members of the medical and legal professions from the British Isles in Canada. That there were barriers in the way of these particular professions may not have been a real hindrance to the development of the Canadas, but a feeling of class distinction such as seems to have existed would naturally tend to lessen the advantages of being "under the flag".

A marked feature of the emigration to Canada during the thirties was the large number of small capitalists who entered the Colony. The majority of these were from the north of Ireland and from Scotland. The disturbed condition of social life in Ireland led many of the small farmers there to dispose of their property with a view to taking up land under more congenial conditions. These people made the best settlers as they had developed some of the initiative and selfreliance which is so necessary in pioneer life. Having held land, even though it was on a small scale, they had that pride of property which would cause them to undergo hardship with a view to ultimate possession. They were individualists in the best sense and scorned assistance seeing that success could be won through their own efforts.

The emigrants sent out by the parishes were generally found to be unsuitable for colonial life. One settler in the Eastern Townships who had travelled from England on board a ship which was conveying 116 pauper emigrants to Canada, could only select two out of all these that he was desirous of inducing to settle in his district. It was emigrants of this type who were

the greatest trouble on arrival at Quebec or Montreal, brought up under the English Poor Law system they had the pauper outlook, and were sadly lacking in the ability to fend for themselves.

Of the labourers who emigrated to Canada at this time those from England and Scotland proved the most suitable. The Irish from the South and West required more training. The conditions of household life amongst this class in Ireland unfitted the women for usefulness as domestic servants until considerable time had been given to their training. But notwithstanding their lack of training they had a strong dislike to work for wages lower than what was common, and sometimes would refuse to do so until compelled by necessity. A characteristic testimony is borne to "the aptitude of the Irish in accommodating themselves to their new sphere of action when hard necessity has driven them to shift for themselves after all hope of getting assistance from others has failed them".^{1.}

The Durham Report contained two main recommendations, the union of Upper and Lower Canada under one Legislature, and the granting of responsible government. The Union Act was passed in 1840, and came into operation in 1841. Responsible government had to wait through the troubled years until the arrival of Lord Elgin as Governor General in 1847. "His chief work in administration lay in so altering the relation of his office to Canadian popular government, as to take from the governor-Generalship much of its initiative, and to make a great surrender
1. Appendix P. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland. 1847. - being a letter from F.J. Boulton to Lord Mountague, dated 8/8/1843.

to popular opinion. Between his arrival in Montreal at the end of January 1847, and the writing of his last official despatch on December 18th, 1854, he had established on sure foundations the system of democratic government in Canada¹. Thus with the arrival of Lord Elgin Canada passed from the age of tutelage, and entered upon the era of self-determination.

The greatest development in the British North American Colonies had taken place in Upper Canada. The majority of the emigrants arriving at Quebec and Montreal found their way there. Only a small number of emigrants landed in the Maritime Provinces, and of these the greater part moved on to the United States. In 1824 Toronto was a village of 1,600 inhabitants, and in 1846 it had a population of 21,000. Hamilton had a population of 9,889, Kingston numbered 8,416 inhabitants, and Bytown, the future capital, had 6,275 inhabitants. Such places as London, Belleville, Brockville, and Coburg had populations varying from one to four thousand. The total population of British North America at this time was about one and a half millions.

1. British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government. Morison.

Note.

It is interesting to note the interest which J.S. Mill took in colonial matters, and his support of the Wakefield system. He was much interested in Lord Durham's mission to Canada, and strongly defended him on his return. Lord Durham was bitterly attacked in parliament because of his administration of affairs in Canada during his term of office. This attack led to his resignation, and return. Mill writes in his "Autobiography", "Lord Durham was bitterly attacked from all sides, inveighed against by enemies, given up by timid friends; while those who would willingly have defended him did not know what to say. He appeared to be returning a defeated and discredited man. I had followed the Canadian events from the beginning; I had been one of the prompters of his prompters; his policy was almost exactly what mine would have been, and I was in a position to defend it. I wrote and published a manifesto in the Review, in which I took the very highest ground in his behalf, claiming for him not mere acquittal, but praise and honour. Instantly a number of other writers took up the tone: I believe there was a portion of truth in what Lord Durham, soon after, with polite exaggeration, said to me - that to this article might be ascribed the almost triumphal reception which he met with on his arrival in England. I believe it to have been a word in season, which at a critical moment, does much to decide the result; the touch which determines whether a stone, set in motion at the top of an eminence, shall roll down or up."

side or the other. All hopes connected with Lord Durham as a politician soon vanished; but with regard to Canadian, and generally to colonial policy, the cause was gained: Lord Durham's Report, written by Charles Buller, partly under the inspiration of Wakefield, began a new era; its recommendations, extending to complete internal self-government, were in full operation in Canada within two or three years, and have been since extended to nearly all the other colonies, of European race, which have any claim to the character of important communities. And I may say that in successfully upholding the reputation of Lord Durham and his advisers at the most important moment, I contributed materially to this result".

Autobiography.- J.S. Mill. Pp 215-217.

Social Conditions affecting Emigration in the Wakefield
Period. 1831-1850.

Throughout the nineteenth century extensive emigration, or a widespread desire to emigrate, may always be traced to social inconvenience. This inconvenience may be intense as in the case of the Irish peasants following the partial failure *and the total failure ~~of~~ in 1846,* of the potato crop in 1822, and in that of the Scottish Crofters in 1836-37: or it may take merely the form of discontent with hampered social conditions making success in life difficult, as in the case of much of the emigration during the early part of the twentieth century.

During the period of Wakefield's influence on emigration policy the causes of emigration from the mother-country were not materially different from those working during the period of pauper emigration. In Scotland in the earlier period distress was confined chiefly to the hand-loom weavers in Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire. In the later period, while there was still distress in these districts, the source of emigration shifted to the Highlands and Islands. It was reported in 1841 that while there was distress among the hand-loom weavers, emigration could not be recommended as a remedy. The distress was not due to lack of employment, but to overwork, and low wages. It was considered that the conditions of life under which the hand-loom weavers worked made it almost impossible for them to endure the hardships of a pioneer life, and the small amount of emigration it would be possible to carry out would not afford any real relief.

1. Report of Commissioners on the Condition of the Hand-loom Weavers.
1841.

The distress in the Highlands and Islands was due to the failure of the kelp manufacture, and of the Herring fisheries. During the Napoleonic wars the high price paid for kelp led to its extensive manufacture. The ensuing prosperity caused a greater extension of the crofter system. Proprietors were less anxious to restrain the increase of population since the kelp industry provided the means of subsistence, and the crofters were not dependent on the land alone. After the war the price of kelp fell, and the ruin of the industry was completed by the removal of the tariff protection. A letter written by McLeod of Harris, and printed in the Report of the Committee of 1841, gives an account of the influence of the removal of the tariff. "The production of, and manufacture of kelp which has existed for more than 200 years, had, for a very great length of time, received a vigilant and special protection against the articles of foreign or British growth or manufacture which compete with it in the market, namely, Barilla, pot and pearl ash, and black ash; the last of which is formed by the decomposition of salt, effected chiefly by the use of foreign sulphur, which sulphur forms three fourths of the value of the manufactured alkali. Up to the year 1822 considerable duties were leviable on all the commodities just ~~enumerated~~ enumerated; but in that year the duty on salt was lowered from 15s to 2s per bushel. Shortly afterwards the impost on barilla was considerably reduced. This measure was quickly succeeded by the repeal of the remainder of the salt duties (duties which had lasted more than 130 years.), and of the duty on alkali made from salt. Close upon this followed

a considerable reduction in the duty on pot and pearl ash, and an entire removal of that on ashes from Canada; and this step was accompanied by a diminution in the duty on foreign sulphur from £15 to 10s per ton. Such is the succession of the measures which now threatens the total extinction of the kelp manufacture, and with it (in reference to Scotland alone) the ruin of the landed proprietors in the Hebrides, and on the west coast, the most serious injury to all descriptions of annuitants of kelp estates, and the destitution of a population of more than 50,000 souls!"

After the failure of the kelp industry young people were not allowed by the proprietors to marry unless they had a holding on the estate, and if this regulation was disobeyed the culprits had to leave. It became customary for the young men to go to the Lowlands for the harvest in much the same way as the harvesters from Ireland. But it was easier for the Irish labourers to reach the Lowlands than it was for the Highlanders. Glasgow could be reached from the north of Ireland in about ~~12~~ 10 hours, and at the cost of sixpence, while it took the Highlander several days, and the cost was 10s or 12s.

The failure of the herring fishery was due to two causes: the withdrawal of the bounty, and the desertion of the herrings. Enquiry into the history of the herring fishery elicited the information that the herring deserted the fishing areas at irregular intervals, and that sometimes this continued for a considerable period.

At this time also the work on the Caledonian Canal came

to an end. This added to the prevailing distress, although it was contended that this had not afforded much employment as the engineers ~~was~~ and contractors were all Englishmen, and the labourers were all Irish. This may have been an exaggeration, but the population was increased after the conclusion of the work on the canal as the huts that had been erected for the accommodation of the labourers were occupied by newly wed crofters.

The standard of life of the Highlanders had been gradually degraded until it was now little better than that of the Irish. In the Highlands and Islands the potatoe was fast becoming the staple food. The spring of 1835 had been cold and wet in the Highlands and the crops were poor. In 1836 the potatoe disease appeared. The summer was wet, frosts came early, and the potatoe crop was destroyed. The corn crop did not ripen properly, and gales in the autumn ruined any of the crop that might have been valuable. The wet season made it impossible for the necessary amount of peat to be dried for fuel, and the high price for wool led to the export of what should have been used for clothing at home. The consequence was that distress was acute. £80,000 was distributed in 1836-37 in food and clothing.¹

The Agent General for Emigration reporting on the Highlands in 1837, wrote ~~the~~ with regard to the failure of the kelp industry and the herring fishery, that, "What is described is not a mere diminution of employment which might be of longer or shorter duration, and the people be afterwards restored to as good a con-

1. Report of Select Committee appointed to enquire into the condition of the population of the Islands and Highlands of Scotland, and into the practicability of affording the people relief by means of Emigration. 1841.

(5)

dition as before, but an absolute cessation of the only occupations by which the bulk of the population lived, without a prospect of their revival".¹ Emigration was recommended as an immediate remedy. The difficulty of applying this remedy on the Wakefield system was that a selected emigration which would remove only the young people would be worse than useless as the old and helpless would be left absolutely destitute. The only real relief would be found by removing the people in a body and settling them in one of the colonies. But this would be so expensive as to be impossible. Further it was very difficult to use the fund provided by the sale of lands in the Australian colonies for this purpose, as these funds were distinctly set apart for bringing out labourers to work for wages, and not to remove the destitute population of the British Isles. The financial crisis in the Australian colonies in 1840 made help from this quarter still less likely, and thought was turned to Canada, and the other North American possessions.

However in 1837 many of the crofters were sent to Australia with the assistance of the government. Some of the proprietors also assisted their tenants to emigrate. One of these, from 1837 to 1841 assisted no less than 1850 persons to emigrate. 600 of these went to Australia, and 1250 to the North American Colonies, chiefly to Prince Edward's Island and Cape Breton. In 1840 between 700 and 800 went to these colonies from Skye. This emigration was chiefly due to the favourable accounts which previous emigrants had sent home to their friends. Emigration

¹Report of the Agent General For Emigration on the applicability of Emigration to relieve distress in the Highlands. Dated 29/7/1837. Not printed until 1838.

sentiment was fostered in the Highlands by a Gaelic periodical, published monthly, largely under the direction of Dr Norman MacLeod. In this publication all available information was given regarding the colonies. The great attachment of the Highlanders to their land made it difficult to get them to emigrate. The limitation on the age of those assisted was another difficulty as the filial affection of the younger people caused them to decide to remain with their parents. The clan feeling was also strong. This had the happy result when the Highlanders did emigrate of causing them to form settlements in the British Colonies in preference to scattering over the United States.

It was thought that, on the lowest estimate, one third of the population of the Highlands could be removed with beneficial results. A movement to the Lowlands had commenced from those parts of the Highlands more conveniently situated, but this gave little relief to the West coast and the Islands. Numerous small "clearances" for sheep farms or deer forests continued, and in some instances those who were evicted were given assistance to emigrate. In 1853 Knoydart in the Glengarry district of Inverness-shire was cleared, and the tenants shipped to North America. Between 1851 and 1863 2231 souls left the Island of Lewis and emigrated to Canada. The cost of the passage and equipment was borne by Sir James Matheson, and amounted to £11,855. In 1849 500 souls emigrated from Glenelg at a cost of £2500 which was borne by the proprietor and the Highland destitution Committee. In 1851 about 1500 souls were sent out to Canada from Colonel Gordon's estates in South Uist and Barra. The

1. Report of Committee on the Highlands. 1841.

same policy was adopted by other proprietors on a smaller scale. In some instances there was genuine over-population, but in others the motive of removal was the greater gain to be obtained from the land being used for sheep raising or as deer forests.

An unfortunate feature of this emigration was that in some instances little provision was made for the reception or care of the emigrants on their arrival in Canada. A description of some of the emigrants is given in an issue of the Quebec Times of 1851 :-
 "The fifteen hundred souls whom Colonel Gordon has sent to Quebec this season, have all been supported for the past week at least, and conveyed to Upper Canada at the expense of the colony; and on their arrival at Toronto and Hamilton, the greater number have been dependent on the charity of the benevolent for a morsel of bread. Four hundred are in the river at present, and will arrive in a day or two, making a total of nearly two thousand of Colonel Gordon's tenants and cottars whom the province will have to support".¹ The Dundas Warden of October 2nd. 1851 adds a few touches to the picture; -
 "We have been pained beyond measure for some time past, to witness in our streets so many unfortunate Highland emigrants, apparently destitute of any means of subsistence, and many of them sick, from want and other attendant causes. There will be many to sound the fulsome noise of flattery in the ear of the generous landlord, who had spent so much to assist the emigration of his poor tenants. They will give him the misnomer of a benefactor, and
 for-wh-----
 1. Quoted in "Scots in Canada" by J. Murray Gibbon. P. 131-132.

for what? Because he has rid his estates of the encumbrance of a pauper population.

"Emigrants of the poorer class, who arrive here from the Western Highlands of Scotland, are so often situated that their emigration is more cruel than banishment. Their last shilling is spent probably before they reach the upper province - they are reduced to the necessity of begging. But again the case of those emigrants of which we speak is rendered the more deplorable from their ignorance of the English tongue. Of the hundreds of Highlanders in and around Dundas at present, perhaps not half a dozen understand anything but Gaelic".^{1.} Much of the burden of supporting these destitute emigrants fell upon their fellow-countrymen who were already settled in the country. One example of this is found in an extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal on 20th September 1841. 229 destitute emigrants had arrived from the Island of Lewis and were being relieved by the inhabitants of Sherbrooke and its neighbourhood. This community was finding it impossible to support so large a body, and consequently applied for assistance to the Montreal Society. The assistance was granted and the Highlanders^{2.} cared for during the winter. It is hardly necessary to point out that soon these sturdy Highlanders became successful citizens.

In Ireland social conditions had not improved. Reference has already been made to the various committees appointed to enquire into the distress in Ireland from 1819 to 1830. The condition of Ireland was brought prominently before the Committees on Colonisation in 1826-1827. A Commission was appointed in 1834 to enquire into the state of the poorer classes with a view to introducing the English Poor Law system. This Commission made elaborate reports in 1835-1836. These reports show that in spite of all these valuable enquiries the condition of the people grew worse. Ireland differed from Great Britain in

1. Quoted in "Scots in Canada" by J.M. Gibbon. P. 132.
2. The Highland Clearances, by Alexander Mackenzie. 1914 ed. P148.
3. First, second and third Reports of the Commissioners on the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland. 1835 and 1836.

that it was almost entirely an agricultural country. It was estimated that in Great Britain at this time not more than one fourth of the population was engaged in agriculture, while in Ireland only about one third of the population was not engaged in agriculture. Wages were low, and the condition of the labourers was wretched in the extreme. Throughout the greater part of the year they had to subsist on one meal of potatoes a day, and sometimes were fortunate to get even that. They could not afford to have milk, and their one meal of potatoes had to be "bitchered" with water and salt. Begging was almost universal. Dependent as they were on a diet of potatoes it was never possible to have a reserve of food. Each year had to provide for itself, as potatoes do not keep longer than the summer following that in which they have been grown. There was always a shortage before the new crop was ready for use. Had the population subsisted on corn a store could have been provided against emergencies. But Ireland was suffering from overpopulation, and, since an acre of potatoes would feed a greater number of people than an acre of corn, potatoes continued to be grown. The bulky nature of potatoes made their transport from one district to another very difficult. The wonder was, not that a disastrous famine came in 1846, but that such had not occurred long before. Emigration provided no relief for the labourers. Those who emigrated were largely small farmers, who were in reality $\frac{1}{2}$ labourers. But the actual labourers were too poor to be able to pay their passage to any of the colonies or to the United States.

1. Reports of Commissioners.

The Report of the Commissioners was considered by George Nicholls, who was an expert on the Poor Law system in England, by Nassau Senior, an expert Economist, and by George Comberall Lewis, an expert on Government. Lewis wrote "The remedy of migration from one district to another is not applicable to Ireland, as in the few places where there is no surplus population there is an adequate supply of hands. But emigration can be employed, as in England, in addition to the workhouse: only that which in England is partial, must in Ireland be made general, and that which in England is acted on to a small extent must in Ireland be acted on to a large extent". Senior wrote "I rejoice that the Commissioners have boldly stated the necessity of emigration on a large scale. If once this is admitted, and it is also admitted that the persons whose emigration is most desirable are unable to pay its cost, the question how the funds are to be provided, though certainly not easy of solution will not present insurmountable difficulties." "I believe that in the present state of Ireland, where accidental causes have created an excessive population, it is not only an expedient but a necessary measure of immediate relief." And he adds characteristically "I trust that hereafter the population of Ireland will be proportioned to the means of subsistence, not by emigration at public expense, but by the prudence which keeps it so proportioned in every other part of Europe". George Nicholls reported that "The Irish population seems to be excessive, as compared with the means of employment the country affords; that the effect of this excess, would be more

salt, were it not for the opening which England presents for migration. Emigration not only may, but, I believe, must, be had recourse to, whenever the population becomes excessive in any district, and no opening for migration can be found". "The evil is pressing, and emigration seems to be the only immediate remedy, or rather palliation, for the state of things existing in Donegal and in other parts of the West and South."

In 1838 the Poor Law system in operation in England was introduced into Ireland. The English Poor Law system had been changed in 1834. The system of supplementing wages by poor relief had led to many evils, and had caused the Poor Rate to become a burden on the ratepayers. The workhouse had been introduced as a test of real need in order to lower the amount of relief given. An attempt was made to make the workhouse as unpleasant as possible, and if the applicant refused to enter the workhouse when admission was offered to him he was considered to have forfeited the right to relief. It is outside the bounds of this study to deal with the working of the Poor Law in Ireland, but it must have been difficult to make the workhouse "less eligible" than the hovels of the Irish peasants.

The Devon Commission, appointed to enquire into the law and practice of the occupation of lands in Ireland, issued their report in 1845. This Report is a veritable mine of information regarding Ireland previous to the famine. This Commission expressed their conviction "that a well ordered system of emigration may be of very great service, as one among the measures which the situation of the occupiers of land in Ireland at present calls for".

1. Report of the Commission on the Occupation of land in Ireland. 1845.

A system of holding land in Ireland, known as the Conacre system deserves mention because of its influence on the increase of population, and on the means of subsistence of the labouring population. On this system small portions of land were let to labourers for the season. The labourers planted potatoes and vegetables. The rental was usually very small, and was often paid in service. The farmer considered that the manure which the labourer put in the soil was valuable after the crop had been taken out, and so he could afford to let the land at a low rental. From the produce of this little piece of land the labourer raised potatoes to feed his family, and usually, in addition, to feed the proverbial pig. The work on his allotment was usually performed after he had finished his regular day's work, and with the assistance of his wife. This system exists to some extent even to the present day.

In 1845 The number of people occupying land less than one statute acre in extent was about 700,000. Lots of less than five acres each were occupied by 317,264 land-holders. 187909 occupied lots ^{more than five but} less than ten acres in size. 329,401 occupiers held land in extent from ten to fifty acres each. As the greater part of those emigrating from Ireland at their own expense were drawn from those holding only small portions of land it can easily be seen how the small Irish farmer when he became an emigrant was to all intents and purposes a labourer. The conditions of farming in Ireland also made it difficult for the Irish emigrant to enter quickly into the methods of colonial farming.

In Ireland, as in England, the Poor Rate could be applied to assisting paupers to emigrate. This was resorted to in some instances but not extensively. Assistance from the Poor Rate was often combined with assistance from the Landlord, and in several instances the landlords defrayed the whole cost of sending emigrants to Canada or the United States. Lord Egremond sent 1800 persons from his estates in Clare to Canada. This policy was continued by his son Col. Wyndham, who, from 1839 to 1847 sent 220 families consisting of 1419 souls to the district of Coburg, in Upper Canada at a cost of upwards of £7,000. Lord Palmerston sent 136 families consisting of 894 individuals to Quebec at a cost of £3,000. Upwards of 200 persons were sent from the Earl of Longford's estates in County Longford, and the Hon. C. B. Wandesford assisted 4845 persons to emigrate from his estates in Kilkenny at a cost of £14,525.¹ Between 1835 and 1842 162 persons were assisted to emigrate from the estate of Sir Richard Gore Booth in County Sligo.²

In England the period of Wakefield's influence on emigration policy was marked by the agitation for the Reform Bill, the early struggle of the Trade Union movement, the Chartist agitation, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. While conditions of life were far from satisfactory they were much better than in Scotland or in Ireland. The Reform Act of 1832 remedied many great and glaring evils in the distribution of parliamentary representatives, but it merely gave greater power to the middle and

1. Report of Commission on the Law and Practice of the Occupation of Land in Ireland. 1845.

2. Report of Select Committee on Colonization from Ireland. 1847-48.

manufacturing classes, should not affect the class from which the emigrants were mainly drawn. During a period of distress emigration is usually resorted to as a last remedy when hope of relief by any other means is almost gone. The agitations of this period would suggest that the labouring classes in England were very far from considering that there was no hope of bettering their condition in their native land. So while there was much discontent and political strife, the social condition of the people did not act as a stimulus to emigration, or at least did not stimulate emigration in any undue sense. It is unnecessary here to enter into the details of the movements for social betterment in this period, however interesting this might be. It may be spoken of as the period of emancipation, when the labouring classes became conscious of their importance in the State, and when movements for social amelioration began which continued throughout the century, and are ~~xx~~ vital in their influence at the present day.

Mention has been made of the clause in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 which enabled parishes to use the Poor Rates to assist paupers to emigrate. From the commencement of its operation until July 1836 the number of paupers assisted to emigrate was 3503. Then there was a marked fall in the number assisted, and from July 1836 to July 1837 only 1178 paupers were assisted. The total number assisted from the Poor Rates from July 1836 to December 1847 was 9,476. When this number is compared with the total emigration for the same period it will be seen how comparatively unimportant the Poor Law emigration was. The large number assisted up to July

1. Account of persons assisted to emigrate from England and Wales under the Poor Law Amendment Act, in Accounts and Papers. 1848.

1836 would seem to indicate that at the beginning greater hopes of the usefulness of the emigration clause in the Poor Law Amendment Act were entertained than were supported by experience. The chief reasons for the small amount of emigration under the Poor Law Act were that the type of person which the parishes were anxious to get rid of was just the type that the colonies did not want, and those who were of such a character as to find a welcome in the colonies were too independent to accept assistance from the Poor Rates. In the colonies also a certain stigma attached to pauper emigration, and it was much more difficult for ^{pauper} assisted emigrants to get employment than it was for those who emigrated at their own expense.

A very interesting analysis of the social situation was made by Wakefield in "The Art of Colonization," published in 1849. As has been pointed out in a preceding chapter, Wakefield was opposed to the system of pauper emigration which was favoured in official circles in the Twenties. He was quite aware of the undue competition amongst the labouring classes due to the overstocking of the labour market. But his opinion was that this undue competition was felt in every class of society, and an effective system of emigration must be such as to relieve the pressure on every class. He considered that there was "want of room" in Great Britain, and by "want of room" he meant "a want of the means of a comfortable subsistence according to the respective standards of living established amongst the classes", and obviously arising from this competition of members of each class with one another. He considered that the hurtful competition of labourers

with each other had always received the attention of political thinkers, but "that of the other classes had not been noticed till it was pointed out by the colonizing theorists of 1830. Indeed it was then a new circumstance in our political economy, having grown up from 1815, with the cessation of the war, which promoted a rapid increase of capital: with the improvement and spread of education, which augmented the numbers of the educated classes; and with the diminution of public expenditure, which cut down the fund for the maintenance of the children of the gentry. Since 1830, this competition of capital with capital, of education with education, and of place-hunting with place-hunting has been continually on the increase." He considered that in Great Britain more than in any other part of the world the question of competition amongst labourers had assumed vital importance. "In consequence, partly of the growth of manufacturers, and partly of the decrease of small proprietorship in land, and small land-holdings amongst tenants, there is now in Great Britain a larger proportion of labourers for hire- of people whose subsistence depends wholly on wages- than in any other part of the world." Speaking of the spread of education, he says, "Thus far, the education of the common people has not improved their lot: it has only made them discontented with it. The present fruits of popular education in this country are chartism and socialism." "There is a tradesman in the Strand, who was a special constable on the 13th of April last

1. The date of the Chartist demonstration in London. A great meeting was arranged on Remington Common to convey a petition to Parliament. The Government became alarmed and enrolled nearly 170,000 special constables, and entrusted the Duke of Wellington with the supreme charge of the military precautions. The procession was not allowed to cross the Thames, and on the advice of the leader of the movement, the crowd dispersed. See "Social and Industrial History of England" by J.F. Rees. (1815-1918)

and who has no doubt that chartism and socialism were put down for ever on that day. I mention him as an instructive "foolometer": his opinion is common enough amongst very dull people of the middle and highest classes. Others know that chartism and socialism were not rampant on that day, but only a pretence at chartist agitation by a few scatter-brained English busy-bodies, and some Milesian-Irish settlers in Liverpool, Manchester, and London. Chartism, and still more, socialism, are not yet ripe: but they are growing apace: and they present, I think, some fearful dangers in the prospect". Wakefield looked upon Chartism and Socialism as representative of discontent: a discontent due to the spread of education amongst the working classes. He thought that with the spread of education these movements would also spread. "If so, in the end, Chartism and Socialism will be able to disturb the peace of this country. I do not pretend that either is likely to triumph for a long while yet: ages hence perhaps, both will have triumphed; Chartism first, then some kind of Socialism; but it seems plain to my apprehension, that with the continuance of discontent, and the spread of education amongst the common people, chartism and socialism will have many a struggle for the mastery over a restricted franchise, and private property: and in these struggles I perceive immense dangers for everybody".

It is usually dangerous to indulge in prophecy, but in the light of subsequent events, and of present conditions, it would seem that Wakefield had a very subtle appreciation of the trend-of-events direction in which society was moving, or else was very fortunate in his outline of the future. All the

important points of the Charter have been gained, and today one of the most vital issues is the attempt to reconstruct society on the basis of "some kind of socialism."

In terms that might be used today, Wakefield spoke of the dependence of Great Britain upon credit, and the danger to the social fabric if that credit is destroyed. The population of Great Britain being dependent upon other countries for their food supply, would find that supply cut off if the social organisation were so disturbed as to destroy credit. He thought that an attempt at colonisation, in the spirit of such men as Lord Ashley, in his agitation for the Ten Hours Act, might do much to stabilise society. He was under the impression that the work of such men had an immense effect in quieting the popular mind at that time of revolution in Europe. "The Parliamentary Farc Law, and Rowland Hill's Penny Postage had far more to do with keeping the peace of the country on the 10th of April last, than all Sir George Grey's special constables, and all the precautions of the Duke of Wellington".¹

By 1850 the spirit of discontent seemed to have departed. A wave of prosperity was passing over the country. Employment was plentiful, and wages were good. In 1851 was held the Exhibition in the Crystal Palace, which seemed to be a miniature reproduction of the prosperity of Great Britain. The working-man had a full larder, and the manufacturer was securing satisfactory profits, and everybody was happy in the enjoyment of the fatness of

¹ The Art of Colonisation. E.G. Wakefield. pp67-69.

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of the land. The desire to emigrate grew less, and in 1850-1851 the Emigration Commissioners had difficulty in securing sufficient emigrants to fulfil their contracts with the Australian Colonies. In order to make up the number required a larger proportion had to be sent from Ireland than was warranted by the population of the country.¹ Thus we see how closely emigration sentiment is bound up with social conditions, and while the spirit of adventure may lead a few ardent spirits to launch out into the unknown the majority of people are satisfied with quiet plenty, and need the disturbing influence of economic pressure to rouse their dormant heroism, and cause them to seek "fresh ^{woods} ~~woods~~ and pastures new".

¹ See General Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners for 1851 and 1852.

The Irish Famine and Irish Emigration.

The most outstanding feature of the emigration movement from the British Isles during the nineteenth century was the large number of emigrants proceeding from Ireland. Mention has been made of the migration of Irish labourers to England and Scotland during the years following the close of the Napoleonic wars, and the problem which this movement created in Great Britain. During the thirties the stream was turned westwards, and fewer crossed the Channel to England and Scotland. The migrations of the harvesters continued all through the century, and even up to the beginning of the Great War in 1914 these labourers from the Congested Districts of the west of Ireland could be seen making their way to England and Scotland, carrying all their belongings in a red bandanna handkerchief. Then the movement of the Irish emigrants to North America reached important proportions; those who crossed to Britain were the poorest among the labourers, who were unable to afford the cost of the passage to America. The majority of those who crossed to North America were persons who had held small lots of land, and had been in a position to accumulate sufficient money to pay the cost of the passage. A custom which became prevalent at this time was that of sending one member of the family to the United States, or to Canada, to earn sufficient money to cover the cost of taking out the remaining members of the family. The Irish peasants have always been characterized by strong family affection, and one of

the most redeeming features of the Irish emigration was the assistance given by those who had been fortunate in their adopted land to their unfortunate relatives and friends at home. This ^{active} characteristic of the Irish peasants was brought prominently into play in the years following the famine of 1846, and it would be difficult to say how much more terrible the sufferings of the people would have been during that disaster had the assistance from this source been wanting.

The horrors of that visitation are familiar to everyone and it is unnecessary here to dwell with them. In 1822, 1831, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1839, and in 1845 there had been partial failures of the potatoe crop. ^{1.} In 1845 relief measures had been taken, under the direction of Sir Robert Peel, which met the situation. The trouble seemed once again to have passed, and in the summer of 1845 there was every prospect of an abundant crop. But at the beginning of August the potatoe disease appeared, and in a few days the whole potatoe crop was a blackened rotting mass. The suddenness of the destruction may be seen from a letter written by the famous Irish temperance advocate, Father Matthew, in which he says, "On the 27th of last month (July) I passed from Cork to Dublin, and this doomed plant bloomed in all the luxuriance of an abundant harvest. Returning on the 3rd inst. (August) I beheld with horror one wild waste of putrefying vegetation. In many places the wretched people were seated on the fences of their decaying gardens, wringing their hands, and wailing bitterly the destruction that had left them foodless". ^{2.} The destruction was made the more complete by the fact

1. The Irish Crisis. Edinburgh Review. January. 1848. Vol. 57.

2. The Great Famine. W.P.O'Brien. 1867.

that the people thinking that they were going to lose the crop altogether proceeded to take up the potatoes. This led to a waste of the little they had as they sold the potatoes or used them as food for pigs. In 1845 the other crops had not suffered so much, but in 1846 there was a failure not only of the potato crop, but of cereals.

Naturally the greatest distress occurred amongst the labourers. The farmers were unable to give them employment. Some of them were without even the smallest piece of land, and the amount held by the most fortunate was entirely inadequate to support them even in seasons when crops were beautiful. Interesting and characteristic light is thrown on the situation of the labourers in a letter which was sent to the House of Lords pleading for assistance to enable them to emigrate. It is entitled "A Petition from the Poor Irish to the Right Honourable Lords Temporal and Spiritual", and runs, as follows, - Honoured Gentlemen,

We, the undersigned, humbly request that ye will excuse the liberty we are taking in troubling ye at a time when ye ought to be tired, listening to our cries of distress: but like beggars we are importunate. We, the undersigned, are the inhabitants of Rattibarren, Barony of Ling, County of Sligo. It is useless for us to be relating our distress, for ye too often were distressed by hearing them, - for none could describe it; it can only be known by the sufferers themselves. We thank ye and our Gracious Sovereign, and the Almighty, for the relief we have, though one pound of Indian meal for a full grown person, which

has neither milk nor any other kind of kitchen, it is hardly fit to keep life in them; but if we got all that we would be thankful. But if we have reason to complain, there is others has more reason to complain, for in the Parish Townagh they are getting but half a pound, and several of them are not able to buy one pennyworth of milk. I fear the curse of the Almighty will come heavier on this country, the way they are treating the poor, but distress stares us in the face more grim than ever, for we have no sign of employment, for the farmers is not keeping either boy or girl or workmen they can avoid, but are doing the work by their families though they are not half doing it. In times past the poor of this country had large gardens of potatoes, and as much consacre as supported them for nearly the whole year, and when they had no employment from the farmers they were working for themselves, and when they had no employment they had their own provision; but now there are thousands and tens of thousands that has not a cabbage plant in the ground; so we hope that ye will be so charitable as to send us to America, and give us land according to our families, and anything else ye will give us (and we will do with the coarsest kind). We will repay the same, with the interest thereof, by instalments, as the Government will direct. And if any refuse or neglect to pay the same, the next Settler to pay the money and have his land. And we will bind ourselves to defend the Queen's Right in any place we are sent, and leave it on our children to do the same. So we hope for the sake of Him

gave ye power and England power, and raised her to be the wonder of the world, and enabled her to pay twenty millions for the slaves of India, that ye will lend us half the sum, which we will honestly repay, with the interest thereof, for we are more distressed than they; and hope for the sake of him that said, "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, and He will repay it", that ye will grant our petition. And may He grant ye heavenly wisdom, with temporal and spiritual riches also, is the earnest prayer of your petitioners."

Signed. (Eighty six names.)

"We think it useless to go with names, as we could get as many as would nearly reach across the channel. We hope your Lordship will excuse the liberty we take in troubling you. We know that you have Irish poor at heart, and that you are their best friend, which is the cause of us making so free. We hope that ye will make allowance for deficiencies of this, for the writer is a poor man that knows little about styles and titles, for we are not able to pay a man that could it right."

"To Lord Montagu. House of Lords. London."

The whole world had rushed to the rescue of Ireland, but the absence of adequate means of communication, and the remoteness of many of the most stricken districts made relief difficult, and many perished before relief came. The Poor Relief System had been put into general operation in 1845 in Ireland, but it was impossible for it to meet the situation. Public Works

1. Appendix 23 to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonisation from Ireland. 1847.

(6)

were established, and in March 1847 734,000 persons were employed on these, representing a total number ~~17 1/2 million~~ receiving relief in this way of approximately 3,000,000 souls. It was found that the Public Works interfered with the regular work of the people, and they were neglecting their own plots for the money that was to be obtained on the Works. In order to obviate this the system of giving food to those in want was established. The distress gradually spread to the higher classes. Soon the cottiers and small farmers were in the same condition as the labourers. Tradesmen found their business gone and artisans could find no one to give them employment. To crown their misery some of the landlords began to evict their tenants. ^{2.} Up to September 1847 \$7,330,491 had been spent in relief. ^{3.} Disease followed in the wake of famine and the sufferings of the people were in many instances gruesome and horrible.

It was little wonder that the first impulse of the people was to get away from the stricken land. The total emigration from the British Isles in 1845 was 93,501, in 1846 it had risen to 129,351, and in 1847 the number was 258,270. The increase was largely from Ireland. In 1846 the number of emigrants who went to British North America was 45,439. In 1847 it had increased to 109,680. The year 1847 may be said to be the black year of emigration to British North America. The huge increase

1. *The Great Famine*. W. P. O'Brien. P. 102

2. This was stated in a pamphlet written by J. H. Duke, who with William Forster, father of W. E. Forster, a future Chief Secretary ^{for} Ireland, assisted in Relief work in Ireland under the auspices of the Society of Friends, who contributed \$200,000 to relief. The statement was contradicted, but Duke made further investigations and found that so far from having exaggerated the facts he had rather under-stated them. Duke became greatly interested in the welfare ^{of} Ireland, and later took charge of assisted emigration from Ireland, and had much to do with the formation of The Congested Districts Board.

3. *The Great Famine*. W. P. O'Brien. P. 156.

in the numbers crossing the Atlantic caused overcrowding in the ships. The emigrants already weak from starvation were not in a condition to resist disease. Fever following starvation had broken out in Ireland and in many cases the fever was latent when the emigrants departed. In other cases it was brought on by the change of food, and the lack of proper accommodation on the ships.

Of those who went to the North American Colonies in 1847 there were 17,445 who died during the voyage, in quarantine, or in hospital. The fearfulness of this mortality will be seen by comparing it with the total emigration, when it is found that it represents 15.33 per cent. of all who left the British Isles. Fever broke out in Liverpool and in Cork, and it was in ships leaving these ports that the greatest number of deaths occurred. The sudden increase in emigration, with its accompanying tragedy put a tremendous strain on the existing organisation for dealing with the emigrants, - a strain under which it broke down. In 1846 ~~1846~~ 32,753 emigrants landed at the ports of Quebec and Montreal, but in 1847 the number was 84,445. Of these it was estimated that 70,000 were Irish. The consequences of the disease and overcrowding were frightful. It was impossible to cope with the hordes arriving at the Canadian ports. The consequence was increased suffering, and in some cases the emigrants thought that although their sufferings had been great the evils to which they had come were worse than those from which they had fled.

2.

The condition of the emigrants was very vividly described

1. Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners for 1848.

2. Letters from Emigrants. - in Appendix to Report of Select Committee on Colonisation from Ireland. 1848.

(X)

In a letter to T.F. Elliot, Chairman of the Colonial Land and Migration Commissioners, from Stephen F. De Vere.¹ De Vere travelled steerage to Canada in an emigrant ship in order to find out at first hand what the conditions of transport actually were. "The fearful state of disease and debility in which the Irish emigrants have reached Canada must undoubtedly be attributed in a great degree to the destitution and consequent sickness prevailing in Ireland, but has been much aggravated by the neglect of cleanliness, ventilation, and a generally good state of social economy during the passage, and has afterwards been increased and disseminated throughout the whole country by the mal-arrangements of the Government system of emigrant relief. Having myself submitted to the privations of a steerage passage in an emigrant ship for nearly two months, in order to make myself acquainted with the condition of the emigrant from the beginning, I can state from experience that the present regulation for ensuring health and comparative comfort to passengers are wholly insufficient, and that they are not and cannot be enforced, notwithstanding the great zeal and high abilities of the Government agents.

Before the emigrant has been a week at sea he is an altered man. How can it be otherwise? Hundreds of poor people, men, women, and children of all ages, from the drivelling idiot of ninety to the babe just born, huddled together without light, without air, wallowing in filth and breathing a fetid atmosphere, sick in body, dispirited in heart, the fever patients lying between the sound, in sleeping places so narrow as almost to deny them the power of indulging, by a change of position, the natural

1. Dated 30/11/1847. from London, Canada.

restlessness of the disease; by their ravings disturbing those around, and predisposing them, through the effects of the imagination to imitate the contagion; living without food or medicine, except as administered by the hand of casual charity, dying without the voice of spiritual consolation, and buried in the deep without the rites of the church. The food is generally ill selected and seldom sufficiently cooked, in consequence of the insufficiency and bad construction of the cooking places. The supply of water, hardly enough for cooking and drinking, does not allow washing. In many ships the filthy beds, teeming with all abominations, are never required to be brought on deck and aired; the narrow space between the sleeping berths and the piles of boxes is never washed or scraped but breeds up a damp and fetid stench, until the day before the arrival at quarantine, when all hands are required to "scrub up", and put on a fair face for the doctor and government inspector. No moral restraint is attempted, the voice of prayer is never heard; drunkenness, with its consequent train of ruffianly debasement, is not discouraged, because it is profitable to the Captain, who traffics in the grog.

"In this ship which brought me out from London last April, the passengers were found in provisions by the owners, according to a contract and a furnished scale of dietary.

"The meat was of the worst quality. The supply of water shipped on board was abundant, but the quantity served out to the passengers was so scanty that they were frequently obliged to throw overboard their salt provisions and rice (a most

1. Passengers had to do their own cooking, and it needs little imagination to picture the scenes which were to be witnessed during the preparation of meals on board the crowded ships.

important article of their food) because they had not water enough both for the necessary cooking, and the satisfying of their raging thirst afterwards.

"They could only afford water for washing by withdrawing it from the cooking of their food. I have known persons to remain for days together in their dark, close berths, because they thus suffered less from hunger, though compelled at the same time for want of water to heave overboard their salt provisions and rice.

"No cleanliness was enforced, and the beds were never aired. The Master during the whole voyage never entered the steerage, and would listen to no complaints; the dietary contracted for was, with some exceptions, nominally supplied, though at irregular periods; but false measures were used (in which the water and several articles of dry food were served), the gallon measure containing but three quarts, which fact I proved in Quebec and had the Captain fined for. Once or twice a weak ardent spirits were sold indiscriminately to the passengers, producing scenes of unchecked blackguardism beyond description; and lights were prohibited because the ship- with her open fire-grates upon deck- with lucifer matches and lighted pipes, used secretly in the sleeping berths- was freighted with government powder for the garrison at Quebec.

"The case of this ship was not one of peculiar misconduct; on the contrary I have the strongest reason to know

from information I have received from very many emigrants well known to me, who came over this year in different vessels, that this ship was better regulated and more comfortable than any that reached Canada.

"Disease and death among the emigrants, by the propagation of infection throughout Canada, are not the worst consequences of this atrocious system of neglect and ill usage. A result far worse is to be found in the utter demoralisation of the passengers, both male and female, by the filth and debasement and disease of two or three months so passed. The emigrant, enfeebled in body and degraded in mind, even though he should have the physical power, has not the heart, has not the will to exert himself. He has lost his self-respect, his elasticity of spirit; he no longer stands erect; he throws himself listlessly upon the daily dole of government, and in order to earn it carelessly ~~he~~ lies for weeks on the contaminated straw of a fever lazaretto."

Emigrants on their arrival in Canada were assisted in three ways. Emigrant hospitals were situated at Quebec and Montreal, and those who were seriously ill were taken to these institutions. Temporary sheds were erected in order to provide shelter for the new arrivals. And lastly emigrants were assisted to reach the parts of the country where employment was most plentiful. But notwithstanding all the good intentions of the government, and of private individuals there was much suffering. The reason was that the existing arrangements for the reception of emigrants were entirely inadequate to deal with the multitudes arriving, and it was impossible for even temporary arrangements to be made to cope

with the situation. The hospitals were soon overcrowded. The sheds soon became "less eligible" than the meagre shelter that could be found out of doors. Even the arrangements at the quarantine establishment at Grosse Isle failed under the strain. Inspection had to be made so hurriedly that sometimes those who were well were detained, and those who were ill were sent off amongst the healthy.

That these things occurred is not to be wondered at. A cargo of goods may be left on the docks without material depreciation unless it is of a very perishable nature. But a few hours neglect of a human cargo produces the pangs of hunger and the ravages of disease. The emigrants were fleeing from suffering that was very real, and which needed no imagination to picture, and it was hardly likely that they could visualise, or prepare for the difficulties they were to encounter in escaping from the spectre of famine.

But the suffering of the escaping hordes did not end with their arrival at the ports. Their transport into the interior of the country had been arranged by contract at so much per head. There was no regulation as to how they were to be conveyed, and no restrictions on overcrowding. "The consequences were frightful. I have seen small incommodious and ill-ventilated steamers arriving at the quay in Toronto, after a 48 hours passage from Montreal, freighted with foetid cargoes of 1,100 or ~~1,200~~ 1,200 "Government Emigrants" of all ages and sexes, the healthy who had just arrived from Europe, mixed with the half-

recovered convalescents of the hospital, unable during that time to lie down, almost to sit. In almost every boat were clearly mortal cases of actual fever, in some were deaths; the dead and the living huddled together. Sometimes the crowds were stowed in open barges, and towed after the steamer, standing like pigs upon the deck of a Cork or Bristol Packet. A poor woman died in hospital here in consequence of having been trodden down, when weak and fainting in one of those barges. I have myself, when accompanying the emigration agent on his visit of duty to inspect the steamer on her arrival, seen him stagger back like one struck, when first meeting the current of foetid infection exhaled from between her decks. It is the unhesitating opinion of every man I have spoken to, including Government officers and medical men, that a large proportion of the fever throughout the country has been actually generated in the river steamers.¹ The lack of roads and the inferior means of communication made it difficult for the emigrants to be conveniently dispersed among the various settlements. Reports of the condition of the emigrants, and the spread of disease amongst them soon reached the farmers, and caused them to be timid in employing them. It is little wonder that some of the emigrants felt that it would have been better to bear the ills they had than flee to others that they knew not of.

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1. Letter from Stephen E. De Vere to T. F. Elliot.

The disastrous emigration of 1847 cost the government of the North American Colonies the sum of £149388 in addition to £19,000 received from the head tax on immigrants. Several Canadian citizens succumbed to the fever which was introduced by the immigrants, and amongst these ~~were~~ several of the officials engaged in caring for the immigrants.

Fearing a recurrence of the trouble in the following season the immigrant tax was increased. At first it was doubled, after September 10th 1847 it was raised to £1, and after September 30th it became £1.10., while 2s 6d per immigrant was charged for every three days a ship was detained in quarantine. These rates applied to Quebec and Montreal. The New Brunswick government fixed the immigrant tax at 10s per head on those arriving between April 1st and September 1st, 15s on those arriving between September 1st and October 1st, and £1. on those arriving between October 1st and April 1st, with a charge of ~~10s~~^{5s} per head for each 10 days a ship was detained in quarantine.

The result of these measures, coupled with the reports of the tragic emigration of 1847, was to decrease the number of emigrants proceeding to British North America in 1848. The number fell from 109,680 to 31,065. This decrease in emigration to the North American Colonies is the more remarkable when it is considered that the total decrease in emigration from the British Isles was only 10,000. In 1849 the number of emigrants leaving the British Isles to proceed to British North America was 41,367.

In 1850 the number again decreased to 32,961, and in 1851 it was 42,605. The decrease in emigration ~~the~~ to British North America was accompanied by an increase in emigration to the United States. The enormous decrease in the number going to Canada alarmed the shipping interests, and an attempt was made to encourage emigrants going to the Western States of the Union to proceed through Canada. In 1848 the immigrant tax payable at Quebec and Montreal was reduced, and in 1849 New Brunswick adopted a similar course. The advantages of the shorter route from Montreal to Buffalo were pointed out. Half of the immigrant tax was refunded to those who were proceeding direct to the United States, and facilities for free passages were actually given in some instances.¹ This caused an increase in the number passing through Canada on their way to the United States, and in 1849 out of a total of 32,292 persons arriving at Quebec and Montreal 13,723 went direct to the United States. The majority of those landing in New Brunswick proceeded direct to the States, ~~and the remainder~~. The result is that the number of emigrants arriving in British North America at this time gives little ~~approximate~~ indication of the number actually remaining there. Comparatively few of the Irish emigrants went to Canada after 1847, and the majority of those who did made their way south of the border.

Thus we see that the Irish emigrants, fleeing from the ravages of famine, made their way first to British North America. The tragic consequences of that movement turned the stream to the

1. General Report of the Emigration Commissioners. 1870.

south. Canada had not reached that stage of development which would enable a large number of emigrants to be assimilated. The population was little more than a million and a half, while the population of the United States was about twenty three millions. It can easily be seen how different the labour situation was in each place. It would have been possible for Canada to absorb a small addition to the usual annual immigration, but to receive the vast number of emigrants leaving Ireland was utterly impossible. It would be interesting to speculate what the history of Canada would have been had it been possible for the Irish famine emigration to be received. But the stream once directed to the south never turned back, and throughout the century Irish eyes looked to the great Republic as a haven of refuge affording relief from the pressure of poverty, and a land of opportunity free from the hampering influences which were hindering progress in their native land.

The distress in Ireland, and the impetus to emigration, were ~~XXX~~ increased by the extensive evictions of tenants which took place. The evictions of 1847 have been already referred to. In that year the Irish Poor Law Act was amended so as to give the peasants claim to relief with a view to discouraging evictions. But the result was the direct opposite. It would seem that the observations of the poet Spencer were not without foundation, when he said, "Marry, so there have been divers good plots devised, and wise counsels cast already about the reformation of that ~~XXXX~~ realm, but they say it is the fatal destiny of that land that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good will prosper or take good effect :

which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soil, or influence of the stars, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her still in this inquiet state for some secret scourge, which shall by her come into England, it is hard to be known, but yet much to be feared!" During the three years ending 1849, 160,000 persons were evicted, and in a single Union 15,000 were ejected from their holdings. "Some of these unfortunates crowded into the Irish workhouses - the deaths in these buildings, week for week, equalled the mortality of the whole of London, with its 2,000,000 inhabitants - others of them lay down and died on the roadside; others again dragged their weary bodies to the coast, and begged or collected the few pence necessary for their conveyance to England. Some of them who had still a little, came to England on their way to the western hemisphere; others of them, destitute of the means for emigration, came in the vain hope of finding work. Afraid to apply for relief lest they should be sent back to starve in their own homes under a law of settlement, they took refuge in the gaols, and brought down wages to the lowest point at which men could live. Wherever they went they carried with them the seeds of disease. The emigrants died in mid-ocean; died on reaching Canada. The Irish who swarmed in England died like flies; clergymen, doctors, and relieving officers were struck down by the fever which the Irish brought".¹ No less than thirty priests of the Roman Catholic Church

1. History of England- Spencer Walpole, P350-351. Vol. 4. Edition 1886.

died of fever contracted while ministering to their flocks in great Britain in the year 1847 from March to December.

The number of those emigrating from Ireland whose emigration was due to the results produced by the famine continued to increase until 1852. The slight decrease in that year was followed by a considerable decrease in 1853. and in 1854. Emigration from Ireland which was directly due to distress produced by the famine may be said to have ceased in 1852. Thereafter people emigrated not ~~so much~~ with a view to escaping from distress, but in hope of advancement in life. Emigration became an organised movement. Remittances, chiefly from the United States, which commenced in 1848, continued each year, and soon exceeded the amount necessary to cover the cost of the whole Irish emigration. During the years 1848-1854 no less than £7,520,000 was remitted from the United States through various finance houses in the British Isles. This does not take account of the assistance given direct which must have amounted to a considerable sum.

~~By the aid of the Irish Emigration Society for the~~

~~purpose of raising the funds necessary for the~~

~~purpose~~

In the official returns ~~now~~ of emigration from the British Isles it was not until 1853 that any record was made of the nationality of the emigrants. For this reason it is impossible to state with accuracy the actual number who left Ireland during the years immediately following the famine. But an

approximately accurate estimate has been made. It is interesting

1. The Irish Crisis. Edinburgh Review. January. 1848.

2. Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners for these years.

to compare the emigration figures with the remittances during these years.

Year.	Emigration.	Remittances.
1847.	219,885.	-----
1848.	181,361.	£460,000.
1849.	218,842.	£540,000.
1850.	213,649.	£957,999
1851.	254,537.	£990,000.
1852.	224,997.	£1,404,000.
1853.	207 192,609.	£1,439,000.
1854.	150,209.	£1,730,000.
1855.	78,854.	£873,000.

It will be seen from these figures that in 1850 the amount of money remitted to Ireland from the United States exceeded the total cost of all the Irish emigration, as the average cost of the passage to America did not exceed ~~an average of~~ £4 per person. It has been pointed out that the disasters attending the emigration to Canada in 1847 turned the stream of Irish emigration to the United States. But, in addition to the larger population, and the greater facilities for labour to be found in the latter country, one of the most powerful influences to the continuance of that movement was the remittance of the cost of the passage by relatives and friends in the United States.

The falling off in emigration in 1853 and the years following was due to social conditions in Ireland and in the United States. Ireland was recovering from the shock of the famine, and the surplus population had been already drained off. There is little doubt that had not emigration been artificially stimulated by the remittances the falling off would have been much greater. Emigration had improved the condition of the labourers who had remained in the country

and as distress is almost always necessary to stimulate emigration, there was much less disposition on the part of the labourers to leave their homeland. Owing to the dull state of trade and industry in the United States there was less demand for labour. In 1854 there was a return emigration from the United States to Liverpool¹ of 12,578, and there was also some movement into Canada. There was opposition of a somewhat political nature to the large numbers of Roman Catholics settling in the United States, which was fostered by a party known as the "Know-nothing" party, but it is unlikely that this opposition had any serious effect on emigration.

The increase in emigration to the United States as compared with that to the British Colonies throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century was almost entirely due to the emigration from Ireland. In addition to the social causes which led the Irish to seek a home outside the Empire the most potent influence was hatred of England. This feeling was intensified by the sufferings which the emigrants underwent in their flight, during the years immediately following the famine. That the condition of those who sailed to the United States was little better than that of those who went to British North America is shown by a letter from Vere Foster, an Irish philanthropist, who, following in the footsteps of De Vere who investigated the conditions in 1847, sailed in the "Washington" to New York² in 1850. The emigrants attributed their sufferings to English misrule, and carried with them feelings of animosity towards England which have survived to the present time, and still exercise an important

1. Report of Emigration Commissioners. 1855.

2 Correspondence re the Emigrant Ship "Washington", in Accounts and Papers. 1851.

political influence. "It is probable that the true source of the savage hatred of England that animates great bodies of Irishmen on the other side of the Atlantic has very little real connection with the penal laws, or the rebellion, or the Union. It is far more due to the great clearances, and the vast unaided emigrations that followed the famine."¹

A somewhat remarkable feature of the Irish emigration was the fact that the great majority of the emigrants sought a home in the towns rather than in the country. Ireland has continued chiefly an agricultural country, and it would seem natural that the emigrants would take up agriculture in their adopted country. The great West was opening up at the time when Irish emigration was at its floodtide, but the broad ~~prairies~~^{ir i} provided no attraction. This has been attributed to the fact that the Irish peasant finds social life in the community rather than in the home. He is a communist socially, and has not developed that strong individuality which is necessary to maintain existence on the isolated homesteads of a newly opened country. The tenement in the American towns provided the nearest approach to the type of social life to which the Irish had been accustomed, and so the greater opportunities on the "frontier" were neglected for the "neighbourliness" of the towns.²

The influence of the famine emigration on social conditions in Ireland was very great. In 1851 the population

1. Leader's of Public Opinion in Ireland. Vol. II. P. 177. W. E. Lecky.

2. Ireland in the New Century. Sir Horace Plunkett. Pp. 55-56.

had decreased by 1,659,330 as compared with the census figures of 1841. It is estimated that the increase in population from 1841 to 1845 was about 95,000, so that this number should be added to the decrease shown in the census of 1851. The emigrants during the period 1841-1851 numbered about 1,250,000. About 700,000 of the population died as the result of disease brought on by poor and insufficient food. On the basis of the previous rate of increase the population in 1851 should have been over 9,000,000, but it actually was 6,515,794.¹ This decrease in the population relieved the labour situation, and improved the condition of the labourers. It also made possible the consolidation of small holdings, and the placing of agriculture on a more economic basis. But it must not be overlooked that the evictions which took place caused acute suffering, and embittered the feelings of many of the Irish peasantry. The continued decrease in the population of Ireland has been largely due to the stream of emigrants which since the famine have sought a home amidst happier and more hopeful conditions in the New World.

1. Facts and Figures about Ireland. Grimshaw.

The Lull in Emigration.-1850-1878.

When the storm clouds of 1848 had rolled away a period of prosperity was ushered in which had a ^{influence} vital in lessening the ~~the~~ stream of emigration from the British Isles. The position of Great Britain as the workshop of the world was now secure. The era of the displacement of labour due to the introduction of machinery in industry had passed away, and the country was reaping the reward of the increase in output resulting from the improved methods of production. The development of the means of transport by rail and steamship opened up the world's markets, and provided an outlet for British goods. The earlier consolidation of internal communications in Great Britain gave her an initial advantage over other countries. "The greater efficiency of railways and steamships over any other form of transport gave this country temporarily a bounty on production and distribution between 1850 and 1870. Great Britain could produce in masses, receive raw material in bulk and send away any quantity with despatch and punctuality in a manner which was not possible to any other community except France before 1870".^{1.} Agriculture had also recovered from the depression of the second quarter of the century and was now prosperous. The situation in Ireland was relieved by the famine exodus, and the Irish farmers shared in the general prosperity of agriculture. The consequence was a decrease in emigration from Ireland, although the number emigrating was still large as compared with England or Scotland. Free Trade had triumphed, and whatever may be said as to its merits under different circumstances it undoubtedly was the policy best suited to the industrial and commercial position of the United Kingdom at this period.

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1. Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain. L.C.A. Knowles.

The United States which had been Britain's most serious rival in the shipbuilding industry received a setback during the War of Secession, and the advantage which she had in the possession of abundant lumber was lost when iron was used in ship construction. Before the Civil War the United States carried a large proportion of the European emigrants to her ports in her own ships, and had even entered into competition with Great Britain in carrying emigrants from the British Isles to Australia.¹ During the war the British shipbuilders had revolutionized ship construction. At the close of the war the United States was at a great disadvantage in shipbuilding owing to the change in technique, and her capital was directed to industrial enterprise, and railway construction.²

In the colonies themselves the age of tutelage had ended. The work of Lord Durham in Canada had given statesmen a new conception of colonial policy. The sturdy pioneers who had braved the forces of nature in frail ships on stormy seas, in the lonely forests of Canada, or on the sun-baked plains of Australia had demonstrated their ability to manage their own affairs. Canada led the way in the struggle for responsible government. This was granted in 1840. It was inevitable that the same right should be granted to the other colonies at the proper time. One obstacle in the way of this in the Australian Colonies was the transportation of convicts. This was abolished in New South Wales in 1840, in Tasmania in 1852. Western Australia, which had been formed as a free colony requested in 1848 that convicts should be sent there. This request was due to the shortage of labour. Convicts were sent, but the practice was discontinued in

1. Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. 1869.

2. Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain. L.C.A. Knowles. P. 193-194.

1868. During the period of its operation the demand for labour was practically satisfied by the convicts and the ultimate effect was to retard still further the progress of the colony, and responsible government was not achieved until 1890. Responsible government was granted to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania in 1854. New Zealand had already attained responsible institutions in 1852, and Cape Colony in 1872. The grant of responsible government marked a stage in the political evolution of the colonies, and at the same time it was a recognition ^{that} their economic development had passed the purely colonial stage, and that a solid foundation had been laid for political self-determination. Henceforth they are Dominions started on the career of progress which was to find its consummation in the union of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Emigration to Australia had been fostered by the assistance given to emigrants from the returns of the land sales, but the gold discoveries in 1851 attracted a spontaneous emigration which for the first time was **larger** than the State-aided emigration. ¹ Henceforth the assistance given was more fitful. From the gold discoveries until 1867 Australia proved more attractive to emigrants than any other part of the Empire, and perhaps the greatest benefit derived from gold was the advertisement which resulted. Gold did not create the prosperity of the Australian States, but it drew attention to them, and attracted the population which was necessary to build up prosperity on the foundations already laid. The population of the Australian States and of New Zealand was in a condition of continual

1. Historical Geography of the British Colonies. C. D. Rogers. Volvi Pt. 1
Page 153.

flux, and during this period the arrivals in each state give little indication of the number actually settling, but during the twenty years following the gold discoveries the population about trebled.

In New Zealand gold had been discovered in Otago in 1861, and a little later in other parts of the islands. The discovery attracted a considerable number of people, chiefly from the other Australian colonies. There was a slight increase in emigration to New Zealand from the British Isles, but this was small compared with the movement to Australia during the previous decade. In 1871 the native troubles which had disturbed North Island were finally settled and New Zealand entered upon a period of rapid expansion. Large sums of money were spent on railway construction. In 1870 there were 7 miles of railway in the country, and in 1880 the railway mileage was 1288. Naturally this had an effect on the national debt which increased from £7,000,000 in 1870 to £26,000,000 in 1880.¹ The expenditure of such a large sum of money "created a demand for labour, and drew into the country a swarm of immigrants so large as nearly to double the population between 1871 and 1881. Land values rose rapidly, the influx of miners continued, new industries were started and towns grew. A period of wild speculation in land and in business generally was naturally followed by a collapse and general depression from which the colony did not recover for many years. Then first was it that distress and pauperism appeared, then first the unlucky immigrants whose hopes had been disappointed began to look to the Government for help.² New Zealand experienced what few new countries have the wisdom to avoid, namely, a boom created by endeavouring to force the pace of progress, followed by depression, and stagnation.

1. Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Australasia. D. 236.
2. Modern Democracies. Lord Bryce. Vol. II. P. 294.

~~the population of the country was not so great as it is now~~
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~~the population of the country was not so great as it is now~~

In Canada the process of development and consolidation was connecting the scattered settlements, and filling the waste places with a prosperous population. Great activity was shown in railway and canal construction. In all British North America in 1850 there were only 55 miles of railway, and in 1867 this had increased to over 3,000 miles. A canal system was constructed which made possible the passage of ships of moderate draught through Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario to the sea.¹ The population steadily increased, but various factors combined to lessen the attraction of Canada for emigrants. Canada shared in the depression on the North American continent commencing in 1854. The effect of the black year of 1847 was still felt. Political unrest served also to discourage emigrants. This unrest did not pass away until Confederation in 1867. There was no active demand for emigrants, and there was no attempt at advertisement such as followed the Confederation of the provinces. The United States continued to prove more attractive, especially to the Irish, and there was a boom in emigration to the Australasian States. All these influences combined to decrease emigration to Canada in the period prior to the opening of the West.

1. Progress of Canada in the Century. J. Castell Hopkins. Pp 331-335.

2. Population of British North America. — *ibid.* Page

	1851.	1861.	1871.
Lower Canada -----	890,261.	1,111,566	1,191,516.
Upper Canada -----	952,004.	1,396,091.	1,620,851.
Nova Scotia -----	276,117.	330,857.	387,800.
New Brunswick -----	193,800.	252,047.	285,594.
Prince Edward Island -----	65,000 (estimated)	80,857.	94,021.
Manitoba and B. Columbia ---	-----	10,000 (est)	46,341.
		3,181,418.	3,626,096.†
† Includes 100,000 Indians.	2,377,182.		

South Africa still failed to attract emigrants. This was due largely to the fact that native labour could be obtained easily and cheaply, and British unskilled labour was unable to compete in the labour market. After the Crimean War the German Legion was settled on the Eastern frontier. Attempts were made to encourage immigration by State aid. In 1858 ~~£30,000~~ ^{by Cape Colony.} was voted to bring out agricultural labourers, shepherds, mechanics, and any other persons likely to be useful in the colony, ~~and in 1859 14 ships carrying 3733 selected emigrants arrived. In 1860 a further grant of £25,000 was made by the Cape Colony.~~ ^{and further grants were made during the next three years amounting to £105,000. As a result 9383 emigrants were introduced at a cost of £19.3.0 per head.} In 1858 Natal had voted an annual grant of £5,000 to assist in introducing immigrants. But the results of this system were not very encouraging. The chief difficulty was that the type of individual best suited to the South African colonies was the settler possessing sufficient capital to become an employer of native labour.

The land regulations of 1844 had been rescinded in 1855, and the system of sale by auction, and quit rents re-introduced. The upset price was made just sufficient to cover the cost of survey, sale, and title deed. In 1864 the Natal Government appointed a Committee to inquire into the whole question of immigration. A larger annual appropriation for immigration was recommended. The disadvantage of the small ~~as~~ amount of land at the disposal of the Crown was also pointed out. In 1866 a scheme for encouraging land settlement was introduced. A settler having £500 capital, or an annuity of £50 was to receive 200 acres of land together with a further reserve of 200 acres at 10/- per acre. The scheme was modified to suit settlers

1. Reports of Emigration Commissioners for these years, also evidence by Sir Charles Mills, Agent General for the Cape & food stops before Select Committee on Colonisation. 1890.

possessing smaller amounts of capital. 79 families consisting of 170 persons were sent out under this scheme in 1867, and 138 families consisting of 230 persons in 1868. A financial depression in 1869 again discouraged immigration, and the vote for assistance was struck out of the estimates. The various efforts of the South African Governments to secure settlers produced only slight results. The day of South Africa was not yet, and she had to wait until official attention was attracted by the colonial competition of other European nations, and popular imagination fired by the discovery of mineral wealth.

In addition to the industrial and commercial prosperity of the United Kingdom at this time, other influences were at work to decrease emigration. Some of those who would have emigrated were absorbed in the army during the Crimean War. There was an increase in emigration at the close of the war, but this was again checked by the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. The depression on the North American continent at the same time served still further to decrease emigration. The outbreak of the Civil War had a similar effect, although the increase in emigration from Ireland, was said to be due to the attraction of the bounties given by American citizens to individuals who would take their place in the army. 1.

The lull in emigration during this period is all the more remarkable when the great improvement in the means of transport is taken into consideration. In 1833 the first steamer crossed the Atlantic. This was a Canadian vessel, the "Royal William", which arrived at London from Quebec, having spent seventeen days on the

1. Report of Emigration Commissioners. 1865. In 1865 31,943 single Irishmen emigrated to the United States. See Report of 1866.

(8)

1. voyage. The Cunard Company was founded in 1840, and in 1850 their fleet consisted of 12 vessels constructed of wood, and propelled by paddles. These vessels varied in speed from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ knots. The mail steamers not only improved shipping conditions directly, but had an indirect effect on the conditions on board the sailing vessels. In some cases when a sailing ship had left a British port without having complied with the shipping regulations information to this effect was sent by a steamer following to the authorities at the Canadian ports, and the offending ship-masters were apprehended on

2. arrival. The Allan Line began operations in 1852. The old sailing ships disappeared rapidly. In 1863 45% of the emigrants travelled in steamships, in 1866 the proportion was 81%, and by 1870 the number of emigrants using sailing vessels was negligible. Indirectly this throws light on the financial condition of the emigrants. The cost of the passage in a steamer was about one third more than in a sailing ship. Had the emigrants been driven out by destitution, as on many previous occasions, there is little doubt that the cheaper mode of travel would have been used.

The development of telegraphic communication brought the various parts of the Empire closer together, and the emigrant was no longer launching out into the unknown as in the earlier part of the century. The growth of railway systems in the overseas dominions facilitated the dispersal of the settlers on arrival, and at the same time provided an outlet for surplus produce, and greatly hastened the economic development of the newly opened territories.

1. An Outline of Industrial History. Edward Cressy. p 218.

2. Report of Emigration Commissioners. 1843.

A feature of the emigration at this time was the increasing number of emigrants from continental Europe who travelled to North America via British ports. This movement began in 1846 when parties of Germans arrived at London on their way to the United States. Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes reached Liverpool via Hull. In the Emigration Returns no distinction in nationality was made before 1853, and in that year over 30,000 foreigners~~/~~ emigrants sailed from British ports. The number varied from year to year, but there was a continued increase in this movement until in the years 1868-69-70 the average was over 60,000 annually. A small number reached the United States through Canada, and this, coupled with the steady stream of Irish emigrants passing along the same route, makes it difficult to estimate accurately the number of emigrants actually remaining in Canada. The increased facilities for travel between Canada and the United States added to the movement from one country to the other. The relative movement each year depended largely on the state of the labour market in each country. In some years the number remaining in Canada was as low as one fifth of the arrivals, and in others it was as high as three fourths.

The Irish in America continued to send remittances to their fellow-countrymen in their native land. Apart from private remittances of which there is no record, the amount sent each year was considerably more than was necessary to cover the cost of the total emigration from Ireland. In fact it was sufficient to provide for the passages of the total emigration to North America from the British Isles. During the years 1847-1869, after deducting cabin

In 1866 - 51795 emigrants arrived at Canadian ports and only 10,091 remained.

1866 -	51795	"	"	"	"	"	"	10066	"
1867 -	57873	"	"	"	"	"	"	12765	"
1868 -	71448	"	"	"	"	"	"	19630	"
1869 -	75850	"	"	"	"	"	"		"

cabin/
passengers and foreigners about 3,500,000 emigrants sailed from British ports to North America. The cost of the passage for these would be about £15,000,000. During the twenty years 1848-1868 this amount was actually remitted to Ireland through the finance houses.

The United States continued to attract the larger proportion of the emigrants from the British Isles. During the eight years 1853-1860 61% went to the U.S., 10% to British North America, 28% to Australia and New Zealand, and 1% to all other places, and during the ten years 1861-1870 72% went to the U.S., 8% to British North America, 17% to Australia and New Zealand, and 3% to all other places. The total number of British and Irish emigrants for these eighteen years was 2,884,512.

The grant of self-government to the Australasian colonies led to a decrease in the work of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Their chief work had been the management of land sales, and the application of the proceeds to the transportation of emigrants. Their operations in this respect did not extend to Canada owing to the different land system there. A very important function was the administration of the Shipping Acts, and much good was achieved, especially in the earlier years of the existence of the Board. The self-governing Dominions gradually appointed their own emigration agents in Great Britain and the work of the Commissioners dwindled. During the twenty three years from 1847 to 1869 they despatched 339,338 selected and assisted emigrants, at a cost of £4,864,000. Of this amount only £523,000 was provided by the emigrants¹ or their friends, and the remainder was secured from colonial funds.

1. Report of Commissioners. 1870.

In 1872 the administration of the Passenger Act was transferred to the Board of Trade, still further lessening the work of the Commission. As each Commissioner retired his place was not filled, and the work of the Commission ceased entirely in 1878.

The official attitude towards the colonies at the middle of the nineteenth century is well represented by the doctrines of the Manchester School. They held that the colonies were a burden rather than an advantage to the mother country, and that their complete independence was inevitable. They maintained that the economic benefit from the colonies was not increased by the political connection, and that the severance of the bond was really desirable. The differential tariffs in favour of the colonies which had grown up during the earlier part of the century were abolished by the adoption of Free Trade, and the colonies were placed on the same standing as foreign countries. But in the later sixties a change in the attitude towards the overseas Dominions becomes noticeable. One factor in bringing this about may have been the failure of foreign nations to follow the example of Great Britain with regard to trade policy. In 1868 the Colonial Institute was founded with the object of disseminating accurate information about the Empire, and strengthening the bonds which bind the different parts together. This movement grew in force under the leadership of such statesmen as Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Rosebery, and Lord Salisbury, until at the beginning of the twentieth century a united empire had become the popular ideal.

A break in the lull in emigration occurred during the years 1869-1873. This was due largely to distress in England from 1869 to 1871. The average annual emigration, exclusive of foreigners, for the five years preceding 1869 was 165,437, and from 1869 to 1873 it was 204,080. In comparing these figures it must be pointed out that owing to the increasing facilities for travel general passenger movement was increasing, consequently a proportion of those included were not bona fide emigrants. No account of the return movement to the British Isles was taken before 1876. So that just as it is necessary in studying the emigration statistics from 1846 to 1853, ^{that} allowance must be made for foreigners passing through, in this period allowance must be made for tourists. However when this is done there is still a substantial increase in the number of emigrants.

This increase was almost entirely from England, although there was a slight increase from Scotland. The distress was most keenly felt in London, and led to a discussion in the House of Commons regarding the advisability of giving government assistance to emigration. This was opposed because it was thought that government aid would diminish the assistance from private sources, and would tend to pauperise the emigrants, and so make them less acceptable in the United States, and in the overseas dominions. Artisans, and mechanics who had been discharged from the government dockyards, to the number of about 1400, were taken to Canada in two troopships which were proceeding there to bring home troops. £2300 was raised by private subscription to cover incidental expenses. Assistance was given to over 5500 others by private individuals, and by the British and Colonial Emigration Society. Further assistance ² The Emigration Commissioners in their Reports for 1862 & 1868 mention the return of 18839 emigrants in 1865. 16721 of whom came from America, 23704 Report of Emigration Commissioners. 1870. in 1868, of whom 18841 came from America. The remainder came from Australia, Russia, and other quarters. There was unemployment in America

was given during 1870. The British and Colonial Society assisted 5089 emigrants, the East End Family Emigration Fund gave assistance to over 1000, and others were aided by the Canadian Emigration Club. It was estimated that about 8000 were assisted to emigrate to Canada. This assistance was continued during the following years, and was to some extent responsible for the continuation of the increased emigration after the period of distress had ended.

In 1869, for the first time, emigration from England exceeded that from Ireland. While Irish emigration still continued larger in proportion to population, ~~there was a steady decline~~ ^{its} decline in proportion to English emigration. was from this year steady. English emigration in 1869 was the largest since 1854. The large number in that year was due to the attraction of the Australian gold fields which led a large number of young men to emigrate in hope of gain, but in 1869 86% of the English emigrants went to North America, and the motive was fear of distress.

Some emigrants were taken to Venezuela by the "American, English, and Venezuelan Trading and Commercial Company". These emigrants were exposed to suffering as there were no preparations to receive them, and the conditions were unsuited to those accustomed to life in England. There was also emigration to the Argentine. This was the beginning of attempts to secure emigrants for the South American Republics which drew forth repeated warnings as to the unsuitability of South American countries for British emigrants.

The year 1870 witnessed the beginning of the opening of the Canadian North West for colonisation. The early attempt at colonisation in 1812 by Lord Selkirk had not been successful. The North West continued

to be a trading preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹ The colonisation of the Territories was against the best interests of the Company, and naturally the disadvantages of the great North West for colonisation were emphasised. However in 1869 negotiations for the purchase of the Hudson's Bay rights by the recently formed Dominion Government were concluded. The Hudson's Bay Company were to receive £300,000, and to retain the land surrounding their trading posts to an amount not exceeding 45,000 acres. In addition the Company was to receive "one-twentieth² of the fertile belt bounded on the south by the United States boundary, on the West by the Rocky Mountains, on the north by the northern branch of the Saskatchewan River, and on the east by Lake Winnipeg, the Lake of the Woods and the waters connecting them." Surveys were commenced and in 1870 the Province of Manitoba was formed, and united to the Dominion. In 1872 the Dominion Lands Act was passed to regulate the grant of land in Manitoba and the North West Territories. This Act provided for the division of the district into townships containing 36 square miles, and into sections of 640 acres which were still further divided into quarter-sections of 160 acres. Any person being the head of a family, or having attained 21 years of age was entitled to a free grant of 160 acres of agricultural land for the purpose of actual settlement. Full legal title was given at the end of three years occupancy on proof being given that a specified amount of land on the holding had been brought under cultivation.

1. "Up to the year 1857 the Red River Settlement remained the only colony west of Upper Canada in some measure independent of the fur trade; and though that settlement continued to exist, it remained stagnant and showed no signs of its great future. In 1857 its population was a little over 6000, composed as to its larger half of French Canadians and half-breeds, the children of French Canadians by Indian mothers, the rest being descendants of Selkirk's pioneers, along with some English half-breeds." Hist Geo of British Colonies. Vol v. Pt 2 P255.
2. Ibid. P.268.

In 1871 British Columbia became a province of the Dominion. Gold had been discovered there in 1856, and in 1858 it had been made a Crown Colony. Because of the difficulty in reaching it the attraction which it had for emigrants from the British Isles was slight. The inhabitants were largely gold-seekers from the United States, and there was little actual settlement for a number of years. The most important element in the union of British Columbia with the Dominion was the agreement that ~~the~~ a railway should be constructed connecting the new province with other provinces. This railway became the most important factor in opening up western Canada for the settler.

Although prosperity in England had returned in 1871 the increase in emigration continued until 1873. From 1874 to 1878, the remaining years of the period which we have characterised as the "lull in emigration", there was a marked decrease in the number leaving the British Isles. This decrease was greatest in the case of Ireland. One reason for this decrease was undoubtedly the depression in the United States which commenced in 1873. Of this crisis Professor Max Farrand says, "The usual characterisation, that it was 'brief, but sharp', would apply perfectly to the Panic of 1873, but the five years following were a period of declining markets and surplus goods, of idle mills and idle men, of strikes, lockouts, and bankruptcies." In 1876 the number of British and Irish returning from the United States was actually 143 more than the number going there. A noticeable feature of emigration since the disturbance of

1. The Development of the United States. Max Farrand. P233.
2. Excess of Emigrants from the British Isles over Immigrants for the years 1876, 1877, 1878. (British and Irish only) taken from Board of Trade returns for 1878.

COUNTRY OF DESTINATION.	1876	1877	1878.
UNITED STATES	-143	603	20654.
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.	2706	2033	4448
AUSTRALASIA	29617	25501	32272
All other places	5885	3168	584
TOTAL	38065	31305	57958.

of the ~~stream~~ to Australia due to the gold rush was the steadiness of the movement to Australia as compared with that to the United States and Canada. The reason for this was the fact that North America being within more convenient reach the effect of prosperity or depression in the British Isles was evidenced to a much larger extent in the emigration movement to that destination. Reference to the figures given of the preceding page will show that about 20,000 of the increase in emigration in 1878 went to the United States. Depression in the United States usually spread to Canada, so that the same features are noticeable in the movement¹ to Canada.

It is interesting to note the attitude of organised labour to emigration during this period. In the Forties, following the collapse of the revolutionary trade union movement under the leadership of Robert Owen in 1834, there grew up a new movement whose leaders were largely influenced by the orthodox political economists. Strikes were deprecated as a means of improving the position of the wage-earner, and influenced by the doctrine of supply and demand the Trade Unionists believed that the best way to increase wages and improve the condition of the workers was by decreasing the supply of labour. One means of achieving this was to encourage emigration. Consequently an Emigration Fund became "a constant feature of many of the large societies",¹ and Emigration Benefits one of the rights of the members. Naturally the amount of emigration benefit had to be strictly limited, and it was soon discovered that the small amount which even the wealthiest Union could afford for this purpose

1. History of Trade Unionism. Sydney and Beatrice Webb. P. 201.

was utterly inadequate to diminish the supply of labour effectively. Furthermore Trade Unions in the United States and in the Dominions began to object to this policy, and it was gradually discontinued.

The most notable example of ~~the use of emigration as a means to improve the condition of the worker~~ the use of emigration as a means to improve the condition of the worker was connected with the Agricultural Labourers Movement under the leadership of Joseph Arch. That the condition of agricultural labourers was not an enviable one, especially in the south of England, is shown by the Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Young Persons and Women in 1867.¹ The discontent and disturbance caused by the struggle between the labourers and the farmers was made use of by emigration agents to emphasise the advantages of life in the overseas parts of the Empire.² Joseph Arch went to Canada in 1873 and made arrangements with the Canadian Government for assistance to be given to labourers to emigrate. The Labourers' Union gave £1 to a man, with 10/- for a woman and 5/- for a child. The remaining expense was borne partly by the Canadian Government, and partly by local subscriptions. Arch, in his evidence before the Commission on Agriculture in 1881, estimated that about 700,000 men, women and ³ children had emigrated during the previous eight or nine years. But an examination of the ~~1870-1881~~ emigration statistics would lead to the conclusion that this is an overestimation. Unfortunately the benefit of this emigration was largely nullified by the lessening of employment owing to the introduction of machinery, together with the serious depression in agriculture which ^{began to be severely felt} ~~in 1878~~ in 1878.

The larger emigration in 1878 was but the beginning

See also

1. Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century. C.R. Fay. P. 172-4.
2. A History of the English Agricultural Labourer. F.E. Green. P. 45
3. Final Report of Commission on Agriculture. 1882.

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of a continued increase which had its origin in the industrial and commercial depression which commenced in 1875. The "lull" was over. The industrial and commercial supremacy which Great Britain had attained in 1850 had been successfully challenged, and emigration once again became the safety valve during the ensuing period of distress.

Depression and Emigration. 1873-1897.

The close of the Franco-Prussian War brought about a great demand for British goods in both countries. Their own industries had been temporarily disorganised, and production lessened. During the period of reconstruction there was an enlarged market for British manufactures. The result was inflation of credit, and overinvestment in business. Prices rose to a level which had not been reached for fifty years.¹ A period of feverish activity in railroad construction in the United States created an unprecedented demand for rails, and stimulated production in the iron and steel industries. The crisis in the United States came in 1873, and in the previous chapter we have noted its effect on emigration from the British Isles. But it had also an effect on the iron and steel industry, in which the boom broke early in 1874. In the following year the textile industries were affected, and gradually the depression spread to all industries. Profits were reduced to a minimum, and there was increasing unemployment. This universal depression was assigned to various causes, but the most important was the competition of foreign countries, assisted by protective tariffs, in industries in which formerly Great Britain had a virtual monopoly. The chief competitors were Germany and the United States. German industry had developed slowly but now there

was an outburst of activity. "All the forces tending towards

1. *The Study of Prices* - by T. Layton, p. 52. -----

2. It is interesting to compare the movement of German emigration with that from the British Isles. "From the fifties to the nineties there was a heavy emigration to foreign countries, especially to the United States, and mainly from the rural districts. Down to 1844 there had never been more than 33,000 emigrants in one year. For the five years 1845-9 the annual average was nearly 90,000. For 1854 it has been estimated at 250,000. There was a marked slackening in the sixties, because the War of Secession shut America for a time; and the movement was still slack in the first years of imperial prosperity. In the early eighties, a figure of over 200,000 was again reached but not maintained. For 1886-90 the average was just under 100,000. After 1894 the figure became negligible, and never again touched 40,000. In 1912 it was under 20,000".

SEE The Economic Development of France and Germany.

industrialism and urbanisation had struck Germany at once. She began the century with no highly developed urban life, like that of Napoleonic France. Down to the forties she went through no industrial revolution, like that ⁱⁿ which England was filling the towns before the railway age. Then, crowding fast on one another in two generations, came the railways; the abolition of the last remains of mediæval economic restriction after 1848; the expansion of the Zollverein; the creation of a modern financial and banking system; the great steel inventions; the swift, cheap, ~~and~~ glorious and exhilarating achievement of national union; and the period of electricity, overseas expansion and world policy. All the time population was growing at a rate which would have terrified Malthus, and might, if continued, have brought his teaching ¹ again to memory early in the present century". The secret of German success ^{is} ~~was~~ largely ~~to~~ be found in the education of her people, and the application of science to industry. ²

The United States became an effective competitor chiefly through her genius for standardisation, the vitalising and expanding influence of the great influx of immigrants, and the possession of a number of men of exceedingly high business ability. ³ The opening up of the Western States and the consequent increase in the production of wheat at less cost had an adverse effect on British agriculture. Owing to bad seasons there was a decrease in production in agriculture in the British Isles, but it was the competition of The United States that reduced the prices even of the diminished product. One witness before the Commission on Agriculture in 1881, in assigning the cause of the depression said "It is really owing

1. The Economic Development of France and Germany. J. H. Clapham. P. 279-80,
 2. Industry and Trade. Alfred Marshall. Chap. VII.
 3. Ibid. Chap. VIII.

to the absence of sun and the presence of an extra quantity of rain", but even though these conditions prevailed during eight successive years following 1873, British agriculture would likely have survived these disabilities had it not been for the competition of the American West.

Although the industrial and commercial depression was definitely felt in 1875 it was not until 1878 that it produced any effect on emigration. It is worthy of note that the effect of unemployment and distress on emigration is not felt immediately. Its full force is not exercised until it has continued for one or two years. The reason for this is that population is not easily mobile, and the hope of improved conditions leads men to bear the ills they have rather than take unnecessary risks. Further, some time must elapse before the arrangements for emigration can be made, and often family or other interests make immediate removal impossible. The consequence of this is that often the emigration movement reaches its highest point after the depression has actually passed. This is due to the fact that a number of people would have arrangements made for removal which could not easily be changed, and also the revival of trade might not have an immediate effect, or one strong enough to counteract the emigration fever. It is also noteworthy that the effect of a depression in the country of destination in decreasing emigration is felt much more quickly. This is also explained by the characteristic of human nature that it is much easier to stop a movement of population than to cause it.

The depression was most severely felt in 1879. The

stream of emigration in 1877 had reached a minimum, the net emigration for that year being only 31,305. In 1878 there was an increase of about 26,000, and in 1879 a further increase of about 70,000. This increase continued until in 1883 ~~at~~ Net emigration was 246,341. There was a slight improvement in the condition of certain industries from 1880 to 1883,^{1.} and in 1884-85 there was a decrease in emigration. The revival which had temporarily affected a few industries failed to continue, or to spread to other industries, consequently in 1886 there was again an increase in emigration, which continued until 1889, when a decrease commenced. A high level was maintained until 1894 when the effect of depression in North America and Australia was felt. During the following eight years the average net annual emigration^{2.} was 58,000, and the low figure of 1877 was never again reached.

A notable feature of this movement was the large amount of assistance given to emigrants by private individuals and societies of various kinds. There is little doubt that had it not been for this assistance many of the unemployed would not have been in a position to provide for their passage. An outline of the work of these societies would be interesting, but the amount of detail which it would involve makes this undesirable in the present work. In 1886 there were over sixty societies giving assistance of various kinds to emigrants.^{3.} There was perhaps a tendency under this system for some individuals to be assisted who were not particularly desirable from the point of view of the country of their destination, but the number of these was remarkably small, as is shown by the statistics of those deported on arrival.

1. Final Report of Commission on Depression in Trade and Industry. 1886.
2. See Appendix. V.
3. See Appendix. XII. A.

(5)

The period was also very fruitful in ^{for emigration & colonisation} the number of schemes[^] proposed by private individuals, land companies, and Governments, and perhaps it would not be uncharitable to say that only a proportion of these were designed in the genuine interest of the emigrants. In 1889 a Select Committee was appointed "to enquire into various schemes which have been proposed to Her Majesty's Government to facilitate emigration from the Congested Districts of the United Kingdom to the British Colonies or elsewhere; to examine into the results of any schemes which have ~~xxx~~ received practical trial in recent years, and to report generally whether in their opinion it is desirable that further facilities should be given to promote emigration, and if so upon the means by and the conditions under which such emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed"¹. The Committee did not recommend state aided emigration, chiefly because of the financial difficulties involved. The expense of such an undertaking would be enormous, and previous experience had shown the difficulty of securing the repayment of the amounts advanced to emigrants. It was also considered that state aid would decrease and possibly eliminate the assistance given to emigrants from private sources, which had already proved so successful. About twenty colonisation schemes, some of which had been tried, were examined. Of those which had been in operation the only one which had been an unqualified success was the Fielding Settlement in New Zealand. Others, such as the Crofter Settlements in Western Canada had been partial successes, and the remainder had been practical failures.

The failure of many colonisation schemes was attributed

1. Report of Committee. 1889.

(6)

to various causes, but the most fruitful was the unsuitability of many of the colonists for pioneer life, the lack of initiative, and too much dependence on the help of others. The modern organisation of industry does not tend to produce pioneers, and when the town- and factory-bred individual, who perhaps in addition has not been born with any superfluous initiative, is thrown into pioneer conditions the results are sometimes pathetic. Some men are so constituted that they do their best work under the direction of others, and they would never make successful colonists. Any colonisation scheme which has for its object the removal of a town-bred population to virgin soil on the outskirts of civilisation must begin with a thorough training of the colonists in pioneering methods, and an attempt to create in them the pioneer attitude towards life. Self-reliance, self-help, and self-control have more to do with the colonist's success than even material advantage. The colonist who is trained to look to others is doomed.

While the workers in every industry were affected the depression was most keenly felt in agriculture. Other industries were affected chiefly by the fall in prices, but in agriculture there was a diminished output due to unfavourable seasons, and a fall in prices due to the opening up of large new areas of the world to agriculture. Wage-earners who had regular employment really benefited from the fall in prices, as although their nominal wages were reduced, their real wages had increased owing to the greater purchasing power of money. But this was little consolation to the unemployed. For some time there had been a movement of the agricultural population to the towns, but now it was impossible for the migrating agricultural labourers to be absorbed in the factories. In some kinds

of labour, such as that on the docks, the agricultural labourer had been absorbed by displacing the town labourer. But generally speaking the agricultural labourer had to look for relief to lands across the sea.

The depression in agriculture was particularly felt in the Congested Districts of Scotland and Ireland, and gave rise to schemes for assisted emigration. In Ireland, apart from remittances, and other private assistance, emigrants had been assisted under the provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1849. This Act gave the Poor Law Guardians power, with the consent of the Local Government Board, to apply public funds at their disposal, not exceeding a definite amount, to the assistance of emigrants. During forty years from 1849 42,405 persons were assisted, at a cost of £157,087. The number assisted in this way was insignificant when compared with the total number leaving Ireland. In 1880 the distress in Ireland, due to the failure of the crops was so great that assistance from the Poor law funds was inadequate. The attention of James H. Tuke, who had done so much to relieve distress during the famine, was again drawn to Ireland. In 1880 he met Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, and Sir Alexander Galt, the High Commissioner, and a scheme for the settlement of colonists from Ireland in Manitoba was discussed. Tuke visited Canada and the United States in order to study conditions for himself, and a scheme for the settlement of Irish families was proposed. Funds were to be advanced, ^{by the British Government} to the colonists for the purpose of settlement, the money to be repaid in annual instalments. The Canadian Government was requested to be responsible

First
1, Report of Royal Commission on Labour. 1892.

for the collection of the instalments. This request was refused as it was thought that political influence might be used by the settlers to avoid making repayments, and the scheme fell through.

In March 1882 at a meeting held at the Duke of Bedford's house in London Tuke recommended that assistance be given for the purpose of simple emigration rather than colonisation, as emigration would be much cheaper than actual settlement. Another argument against colonisation from Ireland was the tendency of the Irish to drift to the towns. At this meeting "Mr Tuke's Fund" was established to assist emigration, and £10,000 was immediately subscribed. Operations were confined to the ~~four~~ ^{four} poorest Unions in the West, ^{and Auckland} Clifden in Galway, and Newport and Bellmullet in Mayo. The district was visited and within a week 1276 emigrants were enrolled. The demonstration of the need for assistance led the Committee of Mr Tuke's Fund to request Government assistance. The result was that a clause was introduced in the Arrears of Rent Act in 1882 by which a sum of £100,000 was appropriated for this purpose. In 1883, by a clause in the Tramways and Public Companies Act, a further grant of £100,000 was made, £50,000 of which was to be applied to migration, and resettlement within the country. During three years 9,482 emigrants were assisted ^{by Mr Tuke's Fund,} and in many cases clothing had to be provided as well as the cost of the passage. *The funds administered by Mr Tuke amounted to £69,508. 8. 2.*

The movement began to meet with opposition, the requests for assistance fell off, and the work was practically discontinued in 1884. The opposition came chiefly from the Roman Catholic Clergy, ^{the National Party,} and the village shopkeepers. The opposition of the Clergy was based

1. The total amount spent under these Acts, up to 31st March 1889, was £131,400, and 24,329 persons were assisted to emigrate. In 1889-90 257 persons were assisted at a cost of £1672.1.3., and in 1890-91 ten persons were assisted to the United States at a cost of £56.16.4. from the grant. No further assistance was given before the repeal of the Acts in 1892. None of the money voted for purposes of migration was spent.

largely on moral and religious considerations. There was a tendency on the part of the emigrants to become less strict in the observance of their religious duties under the influence of life in the United States or Canada, and it was also thought that they became much more materialistic in their outlook on life than would have been possible under the close care of the Church in Ireland. The National Party objected to emigration because it weakened the country, and they considered that a system of assisted migration would be more beneficial. The shopkeepers objected because emigration meant for them loss of trade. It may be pointed out that the village shopkeeper in Ireland has not always been a blessing to the community. In many cases the only source of credit for the small holders was the shopkeeper. Sometimes the debt grew up simply because the peasant found himself unable to pay for goods received. High interest was charged, and the holdings mortgaged. Soon the position was reached when the mortgage approximated to the value of the holding, with the result that it was sold, or fell into the hands of the shopkeeper, and another family was forced to swell the stream of emigrants.

~~At the same time~~ No attempt was made by Tuke to provide for the emigrants on arrival at their destination. The greater proportion went to the United States, and secured work as labourers. The remainder who went to Canada found similar employment. Attempts at colonisation were made on Bishop Ireland's Settlement in Minnesota, to which 300 Irish settlers were taken in 1880 by Father Nugent. Mr John Sweetman, an Irish gentleman, bought land in the same State, and took out several families, but in a few years they had left the land to work for wages.

Another philanthropist who endeavoured to alleviate the woes of Ireland was Mr Vere Foster. His help was confined chiefly to single women whom he assisted to emigrate with a view to their obtaining employment as domestics. From private funds he provided them with the necessary outfits, and secured their passages. Altogether about 15,000 women were assisted in this way.

The assistance given to emigrants from Scotland contrasts with that given in Ireland in that a system of colonisation was adopted rather than mere emigration. In 1883 and 1884 Lady Gordon Cathcart settled sixty six families from her estates in the district between Moosomin and Wapella in what is now Saskatchewan. These colonists were successful, and the district became a prosperous one, but the settlers showed a great disinclination to repay the funds advanced. The Napier Commission of Enquiry into the condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands which¹ was appointed¹ in 1883 reported in favour of state-aided and state-directed colonisation from the Highlands. They considered that the greatest benefit would result from the emigration of families, consisting of a fair proportion of persons having reached, or about to reach, maturity. This could best be carried out by Government loans administered by a separate Government agency for Scotland. The Report was favourably received, and in 1885 the Office of Secretary for Scotland was revived, and the preliminary negotiations commenced.

New Zealand in 1884 had set apart 10,000 acres for the reception of crofter settlers. 10 acres were to be given free to each settler, and a further 20 acres could be obtained on application at £1 per acre. It was proposed that the Imperial Government should pay

¹. Report of Commission on Highlands and Islands. 1884. D. 107.

half the cost of sending the families out. The Canadian Government also was approached, and was prepared to grant 160 acres free to each settler over 18 years of age, in Manitoba and the North West. The Canadian Government refused to take any responsibility for recovering the repayments of the money advanced, and nothing was done. Negotiations were then opened with various ^{Canadian} Land Companies, but these also fell through, largely owing to the difficulty in arranging for repayments. In this way three years passed, and the distress was ~~xxx~~ becoming greater. Towards the end of 1887 the Land Companies were again approached, but now they refused to have anything to do with the scheme. Finally it was arranged that the Government would advance the sum of £10,000 on condition that a further sum of £2,000 be raised by private subscription, making a total emigration fund of £12,000. An Emigration Board was appointed consisting of trustees representing the Imperial Government, the Canadian Government, the private subscribers, and Land Companies who had promised to assist gratuitously with the work of settlement, being reimbursed only to the extent of actual expenditure. This Board was made responsible for the administration of the scheme. £120 was to be advanced to each family, and the Board was made responsible for collecting repayments. 160 acres were given free to settlers in accordance with the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act, and assistance was given by the Canadian Emigration officers in selecting the families and in settling them.¹

By the time these arrangements were made the spring of 1888 was well advanced, and the first batch, consisting of 18 families ~~had to be sent out by the Scottish Office before the~~

¹. Evidence of the Under Secretary for Scotland before the Select Committee on Colonisation. 1889.

Board was properly organised. These sailed at the middle of May, and a second contingent, consisting of 12 families sailed at the beginning of June. When they arrived at their destination at Killarney in Manitoba it was too late in the season for effective work to be done on the land. However the settlers showed admirable spirit in meeting their difficulties. No repayments were to be required during the first four years, but during the following eight each settler was to pay £20.17.8. per year, and in this way the whole £120 was to be paid in 12 years with interest at the rate of £4.6. per cent. The money advanced was secured on the lands granted by the Canadian Government, and on the chattels of the settlers. Although some of the settlers had difficulty in making their payments regularly this settlement may be said to have been a success, and today the district of Killarney is one of the most prosperous in Manitoba.

Early in April 1889 another colony consisting of 49 families sailed from Glasgow. Land was allotted to them at Saltcoats, about 200 miles to the north-west of Killarney. This settlement was not successful. Evidently the settlers had gone out expecting to find a paradise prepared for them, and, not finding it, discontent arose. Great difficulty was found in placing them on their lots, and changes were continually being made. The failure of the settlement was largely due to the lack of the proper spirit. In 1902 71 out of 72 who had taken up holdings had abandoned them. The land was sold at a good price, and £9,000 returned to the Treasury.¹ This would show that the land was valuable, and while it may not have been as good as in the Killarney settlement it was at least capable of being

¹. Report on Agricultural Settlements in the British Colonies. 1906.

worked successfully. This has been proved, and Saltcoats is now a prosperous district.

The total cost of this colonisation was £15,120, the Government grant having been increased to £13,120 to meet extra expenditure. The Crofter Colonisation Board issued annual reports showing the state of the settlements. The final report was issued in 1906, when the Killarney settlers had repaid in full, and had received the titles for their lands. The amount received for the land at the Saltcoats settlement practically covered the expense which had been incurred, exclusive of interest.^{1.}

Other attempts made by private individuals to form colonies in Western Canada at this time did not meet with much success. Sir James Rankin purchased 20,000 acres at Elkhorn, Manitoba, in 1882. Settlement commenced in 1885 when 25 families were placed on the land. Sir James provided the settlers with transportation, some land was broken on the holdings on their arrival, houses were built, seed provided, and everything ready to begin work. Half of the crop was to be given as rent each year. The settlers were from Monmouthshire and Herefordshire. The colony was not particularly successful. Some left their holdings because they could make more money working for wages. But on an average 2% interest was received on the total outlay, and in addition the value of the land was increased. As low interest prevailed generally at this time the venture might be considered at least a partial success.^{2.} Another settlement was formed between by Lord Brassey.

Indian Head and Qu'Appelle. A central farm was started to which the

1. Final Report of Crofter Colonisation Commissioners. 1906.
2. Evidence of Sir James Rankin Before Select Committee on Colonisation 1890.

intending settlers were sent for training for two years. About 400 persons were taken out, and agreed to work during the period of training for less than the regular rate of wages. But the younger people soon tired of this and went to work elsewhere for higher wages. The settlement was not a success. The various land companies at work were as a rule more successful in their efforts at settlement. But enough has been said to show the difficulties that had to be contended with in Western Canada. The Mennonite, and Icelandic colonies in Manitoba were very successful, due largely to their habits of industry, and a somewhat lower standard of life in their native land than the settlers from the British Isles.

The other overseas Dominions did not present so attractive a field for colonisation as Canada since in them there were no grants of free land available. Western Australia was the only State whose Government was favourable to free grants, and in 1897 a system similar to that in operation in Canada was adopted. In New Zealand the Fielding Settlement which had been organised on purely business principles was very successful. A block of 105,000 acres of land was purchased, and prepared for the reception of colonists. About 3000 were taken out, the expense of the passage being borne by the New Zealand Government. The Company promoting the scheme secured a return of $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ on their outlay. The colonists were chiefly agricultural labourers from Buckinghamshire and Middlesex. The settlement was situated a considerable distance from civilisation, in a district through which arrangements had been made to run a Government railway. Houses were erected which were rented to the settlers. Work was obtained on the new railway at high wages, and this gave an impetus

to the colony at its initiation. The land was sold to the settlers by auction, and the price consequently varied. The first sale took place in 1874, and in 1890 less than 2000 acres remained unsold. The success of this settlement was due largely to the exceptionally favourable circumstances under which it was founded. It was far from a town, and there was not the attraction of town life to draw any of the settlers away. The possibility of immediate employment for wages element was an important ~~factor~~ in its success, and provided the labourers who had no capital with funds to invest in land. Had it not been for these exceptional advantages it is doubtful if the settlement would have been quite so successful.

Australia witnessed an outburst of Governmental extravagance in the eighties, similar to that in New Zealand in the ~~seventies~~ seventies. The collapse of credit which began in 1889 reached its consummation in 1893 when several banks suspended payment. At the same time the Labour Party had become a power in the State. Serious strikes took place in 1890 and in 1891. The aim of the "new unionism" was to construct society on a socialistic basis through the instrumentality of Parliament. ^{1.} With the coming to power of the Labour Party there grew up an opposition to immigration. The basis of this opposition was the idea that the fewer there were amongst whom to divide the good things Australia could provide the more there would be for each. The result was that the assistance which had been given to emigrants from other countries practically ceased. This caused a serious reduction in the number of arrivals, and in addition several years drought actually caused a considerable migration to

1. Second Report of Commission on Labour. Part. V, p. 21. 1892.

New Zealand.

The discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1885 directed greater attention to South Africa. The number of emigrants from the British Isles going there increased. Other causes also contributed to the increase. At the same time as the depression in Australia the United States passed through one of the most severe financial crises in its history¹. There was widespread distress and unemployment, and immigration was restricted. The depression in Australia and the United States caused an increase in emigration to South Africa. ~~and Canada~~. Canada was also affected by the depression, although a good harvest in the West in 1895 helped to mitigate it. The result was that South Africa received a considerably greater number of British emigrants than either Canada or Australia.

South Africa was also the scene of attempts at colonisation. In 1886 twenty four families were sent to the Wolseley Settlement 17 miles from King William's Town. Elaborate preparations were made for their reception, huts were erected, farm implements were provided, and even food rations served. The expense was borne by Lady Ossington. The colony was a complete failure, and was abandoned in two years. The chief cause of the failure was the assistance given to the settlers. Idleness was fostered by the monthly ration, native labour was employed, while the settlers spent their time carousing. Some left the settlement during the night, in order to avoid making any arrangements for repaying the money advanced, and made their way to the Transvaal goldfields.² The experience of this settlement affords ample evidence that character in the colonist is the great essential.

1. Economic History of the United States. Bogart. P. 399.

2. Evidence of Arnold White before Committee on Colonisation. 1890.

Another attempt to form a colony was made in 1888 when 25 families were taken out to the Tennyson Settlement in the Stormberg district. Similar preparations were made, but in this case the issue of food rations was made dependent on actual work. However the land selected was not very suitable for agriculture, and the irrigation scheme was not a success. Markets were not easily available for the produce, discontent arose, some settlers left, and the colony broke up.

Colonies founded in Natal were equally unfortunate. The Willow Fountain Settlement, ^{near Pietermaritzburg} was formed in 1880. Each settler had a minimum capital of £100, free passages were granted from London, and the land was sold at 24/- per acre. But in 1889 half the settlers had left. The success of the Marburg Settlement of Norwegians was due largely to the industry and thrift of the settlers, and the small number of their requirements. The settlement was formed in 1882, and in 1889 the land was nearly all paid for, and all the families, fifty in number, had remained. Part of the success was due to some members of families going to the goldfields, and sending home money.

A study of the efforts to found settlements in various parts of the self governing dominions during this period reveals the difficulty of transplanting population successfully. The power of quick adaptability to new conditions is rare. On removal to a new country the advantages of the old are apt to acquire a new and a greater value and importance. Homesickness leads to irritability, and a tendency to find fault. Little inconveniences assume large proportions

In this way discontent arises, and the self-considered unfortunate individual looks around for someone to blame. In these circumstances, a colonisation society or a government is a very convenient scapegoat. Often the presence of something to lean on is a distinct disadvantage. It is in these conditions that the character of the settler is ~~is~~ revealed. Self-reliance will weather the storm, and achieve success, but nothing else will take its place. Any scheme of colonisation which tends to weaken this, whatever its other merits may be, is not a good one.

The attitude of organised labour towards emigration underwent a notable change during this period. The teaching of the orthodox economists was no longer accepted, and Henry George and Karl Marx became the prophets of the "new unionism". Emigration was not now considered as a means to improve the position of the wage-earner. Organised labour began to oppose emigration from the British Isles, and the Trade Unions in the Dominions opposed the introduction of skilled labourers. This opposition did not extend to unskilled labour, and there was no interference with labourers emigrating with a view to working in agriculture, or settling on the land. Some Trade Unions continued to provide emigration benefit, but this was now given only to those who had attracted the unfavourable notice of employers owing to their activity as agitators. Sometimes it was really dispute or victimised benefit paid in advance to those who wished to go abroad.¹ The aim of labour now was to secure a greater share of the wealth produced at home, rather than attempt to reduce the number amongst whom the returns to labour were to be divided.

1. Second Report of the Royal Commission on Labour. Part. V. P. 333. 1892.

We have seen that the work of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners ceased entirely just at the beginning of the new activity in emigration. The need for some organisation to guide, and if possible, control the movement was soon seen. But the policy of non-interference by the Government was difficult to overcome. Eventually as the result of resolutions passed by a number of emigration societies recommending that something be done, it was decided to form the Emigrants' Information Office. The purpose of this office was to give reliable information to intending emigrants particularly regarding the British Oversea Dominions, but certain foreign countries were also included. Very valuable Handbooks, dealing with various countries, and the openings for the different classes of emigrants were issued, and kept up to date. Information was given by correspondence and by interview to those contemplating emigrating. The Office was under the control of the Colonial Office, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies was nominally President. The management was carried out by a representative voluntary unpaid Committee. The initial Government grant to cover all expenses, including rent and office expenses, printing and postage, was the princely sum of £650 per year. As a result of the recommendation of the Colonisation Committee of 1891 the grant was raised to £1,000, and later to £1,500. The immense amount of work which was carried out even in the early years would indicate that the officials must have been animated by a genuine personal interest in the work, and it is difficult to understand how this work was accomplished on the niggardly Government grant. Throughout the country use was made of the Labour Exchanges

public Libraries, and other institutions to display notice boards, and distribute free literature. Thousands of letters were written annually, and a most valuable work was carried on until emigration was interrupted by the war. There is no doubt that the increased interest shown by emigrants in places within the **Empire** was at least partly due to the work of the Emigrants' Information Office.

1. In 1918 the Committee of the Emigrants' Information Office voluntarily resigned, and with a view to exercising closer supervision over emigration the Oversea Settlement Committee was formed. The expenditure for the year ending 31st March 1921 is over £23,000, which contrasts with the original grant, and reveals something of the change in the Government attitude to emigration control.

EMIGRATION AND THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE. 1897-1914.

The emigration movement during the period prior to the outbreak of the European War was characterised by the greater attractiveness of the Overseas Dominions to the British emigrant. In the decade 1891-1900 only 28% of the emigrants from the British Isles went to places within the Empire, but from 1901 to 1912 the number remaining within the Empire increased to 63% of the total, and in 1913 it was 78%. This result was due to various causes. The work of those who maintained their faith in the unity of the British Empire was beginning to bear fruit. The leaders in thought and action in the Overseas Dominions realised that the possibility of self-development and self-determination lay in the maintenance of the bonds of Empire, and strongly insisted on this even when the leaders in the home-land were doubtful, or antagonistic. A strong sentiment, which proved more powerful than economic considerations, bound the common people, who were building the Empire overseas, to the Mother-land. Politicians might dissolve the union for economic reasons, but to the colonist absence and distance made the parent Islands seem more than ever a "precious stone set in the silver sea". An inarticulate ^{faith} in the unity of the Empire has also been attributed to the common people in the British Isles, to whom the colonies were places of hope, freedom, and ^{1.} opportunity, but it is questionable whether much importance can be attached to this. At any rate it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that this faith became articulate in the increasing number of emigrants settling within

1. The British Commonwealth of Nations. H. Duncan Hall. P. 54-55.

the Empire. But there is no doubt that the leaders in the communities overseas found their strongest support in the sentiment of the common people. These empire-builders co-ordinated sentiment and solid pioneer work, and in this way at the end of the century, ^{had made} the Dominions ~~very~~ sufficiently attractive to take advantage of the greater interest of the people of the British Isles. In cultivating this interest a prominent part was played by the Emigrants' Information Office, and by institutions such as the Colonial Institute, which were founded on faith in the unity of the Empire. Much was also done by the Dominions themselves, especially Canada, in making the people acquainted with the opportunities which they offered. And still further, the pioneers were now reaping the reward of their early toils, and their friends in the home-land witnessed success overseas of which they scarcely dared to dream. The United States was rapidly filling up, and the opportunities for the British emigrant were becoming less. The number emigrating from Ireland was decreasing, and this served to decrease the proportion of emigrants from the British Isles going to the United States. Further, the work which had formerly been done by the Irish emigrants, and the unskilled labourers generally was now being done by the hordes of emigrants which were pouring in from southern Europe. The British Dominions offered greater opportunities to those who wished to settle on the land. The United States had reached manhood, a boisterous manhood no doubt, but in the British Dominions there was still the attraction of youth.

1. "On the whole the inducements offered to the European artisan with a narrow range of high manual skill to emigrate to America are less than formerly. For these and other reasons emigration from England, Scotland, and Germany to America has very much slackened. And that from Ireland, has slackened also; partly indeed because her population is no longer too large for her resources, and her land system is more generous than it was. Industry and Trade. Marshall. P. 148

The motive of emigration was now changing. In the previous movement the greater proportion of the emigrants ~~were~~ fleeing from distress, or were urged on by the fear of distress. While there were still many who emigrated for the same reason, the prevailing motive was now hope of advancement. In the Dominions there were greater opportunities, promotion was more rapid, there was the call of youth to youth, and young Britain, with ambition revolting against conventionalism and lack of opportunity responded to the call. Freedom, perhaps more real than in any other part of the world, could now be found "under the flag", and the knowledge of this had penetrated the masses. The Dominions were no longer considered as the dumping ground of the failures and misfits of the British Isles. The power to control their own immigration policy had been won by the Dominions, and their first task was to purify the immigration stream. Emigration was no longer the last resort of the hopeless, but became the means of achievement to the hopeful. The youth of Britain carried with them a love for the home-land. Their feeling of lack of opportunity did not blind them to her true greatness, and mission in the world, and to the majority at least the unity of the Empire had a real meaning. The depth of this feeling was realised when on the outbreak of the European War those who had so recently left the home-land were among the first to respond^P to the call to arms.

During this period there was a steady increase in emigration which continued to the outbreak of war. Unfortunately the statistics of emigration are by no means accurate. The method adopted to arrive

¹. Appendix. I. note.

at the number of emigrants was to subtract the arrivals in the British Isles from non-European countries from the departures. It is obvious that this balance would be less than the number of actual emigrants, since the arrivals would be of a totally different character. They would be composed largely of tourists, or former emigrants who had been successful, and who were visiting their native land. But while this balance would not be accurate for any one year it would be approximately correct over long periods. Anyhow it is sufficiently accurate to give a correct idea of the trend and volume of emigration, especially when the method of computation is borne in mind. In 1912 it was decided to secure information as to the number of emigrants intending to settle permanently abroad, and according to the new returns there were ~~389,394~~^{1.} such who emigrated in 1913. It would probably be correct to say that the average annual emigration from the British Isles during the first fourteen years of the twentieth century was about 200,000. The increase was steady, with the exception of a sharp fall in 1908, which was largely due to the depression in the United States in 1907. The effect of this financial crisis was keenly felt in eastern Canada, but was not so serious in the West.

The increase in emigration was entirely from England and Scotland. Emigration from Ireland was steadily decreasing. The source had been drained out by the enormous emigration since 1846. But even this decreased emigration was greater than the ^{natural} increase of the population, and during the first decade of the twentieth century the ~~population~~^{population} of Ireland decreased by 76,000. In addition, there was

2. Reports of Registrar General for Ireland, also Minutes of the Proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1911. P. 200.

1. In 1913 the excess of outward over inward passengers was only 241,997, as against ~~389,394~~ shown in the returns as emigrants. The discrepancy in these figures is probably larger than the actual difference, as there may have been inaccuracies in the return of emigrants in 1913 since it was the first year the new method was in operation.

a growing national feeling of opposition to emigration. The opposition of the Roman Catholic Church to emigration has been previously referred to, also that of the Nationalist Party. The Sinn Fein movement is entirely antagonistic, and in recent years emigration from Ireland has become the merest trickle.

Passing to a study of the destination of the emigrants, the most notable feature of the period was the enormous increase in the number going to Canada. This increase was due to the real ~~attractions~~ attractions of the Canadian West backed up by a vigorous propaganda in the British Isles. Every possible means of advertisement was used and a bonus was given to agents for each emigrant secured. Railways were constructed, towns grew up in the night, and the stream of settlers continued to pour into the country. Excellent harvests during the opening years of the century rewarded the pioneers. Homestead entries increased by leaps and bounds. In 1905 the two new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were carved out of the North West Territories, and plans were laid to receive a population of millions.

Propaganda carried on in the face of opposition on the continent of Europe also bore fruit, and soon the stream of foreign immigrants exceeded that of British origin. It is this foreign-born population that constitutes the greatest problem in Canadian immigration. Even the United States, with her greater power of assimilation has found the process of absorption a difficult one. The possibility of isolation in distinct national settlements on the prairies makes the task of training the foreigner in the

principles of Canadian citizenship all the greater.

Since 1905 the net emigration from the British Isles to Canada has exceeded that to the United States, with the exception of the year 1909. During the years 1911-1913 British emigration to Canada ~~was~~ was more than two-and-a-half times that to the United States. There was also a large immigration to western Canada from the United States. Much of the light land in the Western States had become worn out by the methods of extensive farming without fertilisation, and numbers of farmers left their lands for the homesteads in the heavier clay of the Canadian prair^{ies}. From 1907 to 1915 40% of the homestead entries by immigrants were made by Americans. ^{1.} Many of these were really returning Canadians who had gone south of the border in the less prosperous days of Canada, or else descendants of such. They brought with them considerable capital, and with their knowledge of prairie conditions soon became prosperous, and had a very great advantage as compared with the settler from the British Isles.

An attempt was made in 1903 to found an all-British Settlement at Lloydminster in Saskatchewan under the direction of Archdeacon Lloyd and the Rev I.M. Barr. This became famous as the Barr Colony. Almost 2000 persons went out, ^{at their own expense} and 378 homesteads were taken up. The Canadian Government assisted them to get settled, but the proposal to place some experienced farmers amongst them was rejected. The settlers were largely from the towns and knew little of agriculture. Discontent arose among the settlers before their destination was reached. The settlement was far from a railway, and

1. Fifth Interim Report of the Dominion's Royal Commission. 1917. P, 13.

the colonists were wholly unacquainted with the winter conditions on the western prairies. An attempt was made to transplant English social life to the colony, there was too much organisation, and a tendency to lean on one another. Cattle were neglected during the winter and many died. Instructors sent to the colony were not well received, and soon left. The colony as such was not successful, and is an example of the necessity of interspersing new and inexperienced settlers with those who have knowledge of the new conditions. The coming of the railway in 1905, and the introduction of American and Canadian farmers in the settlement brought about a great improvement in the conditions, and laid the foundation of success.

Emigration to Australia ~~was~~ continued to be restricted during the closing years of the nineteenth century owing to the opposition of Labour, and the effects of drought. But the opening years of the twentieth century witnessed a moderate change of opinion regarding the value of immigrants. Government assistance which had been discontinued was renewed, and from 1905 there was a steady increase in the number of those arriving from the British Isles. One cause of the change of attitude towards the reception of emigrants was the success of Canada. But perhaps an even more potent influence was the desire to avoid the coming of non-British emigrants. The problem of a White Australia is one of the greatest which the Commonwealth has to face. The natural increase of the Australian people is very low, and the most effective way to exclude the Asiatics clamouring for admission is to fill the country with

British settlers. Australia, for various reasons, has developed as the most British of the Dominions, 95% of its people being of British origin, and there is a strong desire that this should be maintained. One of the great difficulties in the settlement of Australia has been the tendency of the population to drift to the towns. There has always been a great need for farm workers, but the problem of keeping the workers on the land has never been satisfactorily solved. The tendency of the emigrants to remain in the towns and overcrowd the labour market has been one of the causes of the opposition of the Labour Party to immigration. In the years immediately preceding the war practically all the Australian States had reverted to the policy of assisting British emigrants, which had been discontinued for 20 years, and there was a marked increase in the number arriving, this being greater than at any previous period in the history of the country.

New Zealand discontinued giving assistance to emigrants in 1891. While this affected the number of arrivals from the British Isles, the decrease was counterbalanced by migration from Australia during the period of drought. The policy of assisting British emigrants was reverted to in 1904. New Zealand differs from Australia in that its capacity for absorbing new-comers is much more limited. Assistance was largely confined to friends and relatives of people already settled there who were nominated, and to farmers, farm labourers, and domestic servants.

South Africa in this period passed through very varied experiences, both economic and political. There had been a continued

increase in the emigration from the British Isles to South Africa during the last decade of the Nineteenth century. This was interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1899, but the break was only temporary. The two years following the close of the war witnessed an enormous increase in the number of arrivals. Some of these may have been attracted by the possibility of the development of the country after the war, but there is little doubt that many went out on the chance of a possible division of spoils. An unnatural condition of things was created by this influx. There was general inflation, and a false prosperity. The slump came in 1904, and in that year the departures from South Africa exceeded the arrivals. The depression continued, and it was not until 1910 that there was any increase in the population by immigration.¹ Even then the increase was small, as South Africa appeals to a limited class of emigrants. Like all the other Overseas Dominions there is a constant demand for domestic servants, but apart from these, the possession of capital, or the knowledge of a skilled trade is necessary, since the demand for unskilled labour is satisfied by the natives.

During this period there were still those who advocated the formation of colonies of settlers in the Overseas dominions. In 1906 a departmental committee was appointed to consider a scheme for colonisation which had been proposed to the Government by Sir Rider Haggard. By this scheme £300,000 was to be raised by loan, on the guarantee of the British and Dominion Governments. The financial arrangements were to be carried out by an Imperial officer, possibly assisted by a Board. The Salvation Army was to be intrusted with the selection

¹ South African Year Book. 1919. p. 182.

of suitable settlers, their training, conveyance overseas, the preparation of land and houses for their reception, and their final settlement. The poor law authorities were to be approached in order to ascertain if they would contribute to the assistance of those families whose removal would take a burden off the rates. The advances made to settlers were to be repaid in annual instalments of £6 per cent. *Fifteen hundred families were to be taken out and no settlement was to be less than 100 families.* Sir Rider Haggard had inspected two settlements which the Salvation Army had founded in the United States. These he considered to be a success, and thought that similar experiments would be likely to be successful in the British Dominions. The scheme was somewhat impractical, and was not recommended by the Committee, but the Report of the Committee 1. forms a very valuable addition to the reports of the Committee on Colonisation which sat in 1889-91, and should be studied by anyone interested in schemes of colonisation. The value of Sir Rider Haggard's scheme may be conveyed most clearly by quoting the summary of the recommendation of the Committee. "We have examined in detail Mr Rider Haggard's scheme, and stated that we are unable to recommend that it should be adopted, as (~~the scheme is~~ amongst other reasons) we consider the proposed colony to be too large; the arrangement by a religious body undesirable; the precedents he cites inapplicable; the suggestion that men going from English cities should take up land in Canada without previous colonial experience unwise; the expense greater than he calculates; the prospect of the return of the money advanced uncertain; the difficulty as to the

1. The Report of the Committee on Agricultural Settlements in the British Colonies. 1906.

selection of settlers serious, if not insurmountable".

The Government continued its policy of refraining from giving direct assistance to emigration. It was considered that the voluntary and unassisted emigration was as great as the country could spare, or the Dominions assimilate, and that the grant of assistance would only interfere with the work of the voluntary Emigration Societies who were carrying on the difficult work of assisting the needy much better than could be done by a Government Department. Under the provisions of the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905 a limited assistance was given to bona fide unemployed to emigrate. Local authorities could be established who would be in close touch with those requiring assistance, and the funds necessary were to be provided out of the local rates. The operation of the Act was confined to the large centres of population. The Act was not put into operation in Ireland, and was little used in Scotland. In England the greater proportion of those assisted under its provisions belonged to London. From 1905 to 1912 almost £200,000 was spent in assisting over 21,000 workmen to emigrate, over 13,000 of whom were from London. Practically all these went to the British Dominions.^{1.} The emigrants had to provide surety for the repayment of such portion of the cost as was repayable according to arrangement, and in 1912 the Central (Unemployed) Body for London had recovered over 38% of the amounts which had fallen due.^{2.}

By the provisions of the Act of 1888 the County Councils were empowered to borrow funds, with the consent of the Local

1. Evidence of the Hon John Burns before Dominions Royal Commission.
Cd 6516. 1912. P187.

2. ditto. Appendix. II. Sec, 16.

Government Board for the purpose of assisting emigration or colonisation, but no advantage was ever taken of this. The assistance given under the Poor Law continued to be very trifling. During the twenty one years 1890-1910 a total of 9,300 emigrants were assisted at a cost of £109,000. The Dominions continued to object to pauper emigrants, and as complete destitution was the necessary qualification for assistance it is not unlikely that the spirit of self-help necessary for colonial life would be either originally lacking or killed.

Much more important was the assistance given by voluntary and charitable Associations to people who were not eligible for assistance from either the Unemployed Workmen Act, or the Poor Law. About forty societies carried on the work of assisting emigrants, either by providing the passage in whole or in part, or in giving advice to intending emigrants, and putting them in touch with friendly societies or individuals overseas. The work of some of these societies was very limited, but the work done by the larger organisations was considerable. From 1901 to 1911 the Self-Help Emigration Society assisted 5,317 individuals at a cost of £7.2.6 per head. The Church Emigration Society in the same period gave assistance to 4327 persons, the British Women's Emigration Association assisted 7118, the South African Colonisation Society assisted 4985, the Church Army assisted ^{5393,} ~~4547~~, the Central Emigration Board assisted 1106, The East End Emigration Fund, and the Charity Organisation Society assisted 17,631, and the Girls' Friendly Society gave assistance to about 1252. The Salvation Army maintained a highly organised

Emigration Department since 1904, and had assisted emigrants previously from the organisation of the department to 1912 about 70,000 persons were emigrated. These Societies worked in connection with the Emigration Agents of the Various Dominions, and on the whole the type of emigrant sent out was good. It is noteworthy that the majority of those assisted remained within the Empire, the greater part going to Canada.

Most of the emigrants were from the towns. The movement of the agricultural labourers to the towns, together with emigration, had caused an actual scarcity of labour in the rural districts. The number of agriculturalists emigrating decreased, and the Dominions found difficulty in getting the type of emigrant most in demand. The need of agriculturalists for the development of the Empire has been one of the arguments used in favour of the encouragement of the Small Holding movement in Great Britain, and there is no doubt that the Dominions would benefit from an increase in the rural population in the British Isles.

There were indications that the high water mark had been reached in emigration in 1912. There was a decrease of about 15% in 1913, and a still greater decrease during the early months of 1914. There was little demand for labour in South Africa, and towards the end of 1913 a depression began to be felt in Western Canada. This depression was due chiefly to speculation in real estate. The great influx of population, and the prosperity of the country had given

2. Reports of the Emigrants' Information Office. 1913-1914.
1. *Report on the Decline in the Agricultural Population of Great Britain. (1881-1906) 1906.* Agricultural Labourers in 1881 numbered 983,919, and in 1901 the number was 689,292, or a decrease of 294,627. Also Final Report of Dominions Royal Commission. 1918. P. 211; and Report of The Empire Settlement Committee. 1917.

an opportunity to speculators. Lands adjoining towns were sub-divided into building lots much beyond actual or possible requirements. Values were inflated, and money which should have been used in the real development of the country was tied up in unproductive building lots. The unparalleled rapidity of the development of the country during the previous ten years, and the unbounded optimism and faith of the people in the future of the West made it difficult for them to see that there might be too rapid progress, and that the real basis of prosperity lay, not in the development of the town lands, but in the extension of the cultivation of the fertile wheat lands. Unfortunately many of those who were in a position to do something to remedy this condition of things were personally interested in its continuance. But the financial stringency which began in 1913 revealed the true condition of affairs, and the outbreak of war in 1914 completed the ruin of the land speculator, and it is to be hoped that he will not again be allowed to hinder the real progress of the West.

With the outbreak of war emigration practically ceased. Several of the Australian States suspended immigration immediately, and others would not receive emigrants of military age. Soon the men of the Overseas Contingents began to arrive in Europe and the builders of Empire hastened to the Empire's defence. One of the most tragic results of the war is the waste of the young life of the Empire's bravest and best in the hundreds of thousands who rest on every hard-fought field of battle.

THE WAR AND EMIGRATION.

The war has dissolved the old world and has failed to create the new. The greatest disaster in the history of the modern world has been followed by political and industrial unrest ; and the end is not yet. In the fierce struggle of the war the nations lost that high moral enthusiasm with which they had entered upon the defence of their liberties. At the close of the war self-interest was the ruling motive ~~among~~ among the nations. To such a world somewhat impractical ideal~~s~~, both national and international, was~~x~~ presented. The forces of reaction have been struggling with the forces of an impractical idealism, and sanity has not yet been reached. Men have not yet realised that the world is poorer as a result of the destruction of wealth during the war, and that the lost position can only be regained by earnest co-operative effort. Instead of this, nations and classes are still at each others' throats. The war brought ruin, and the lack of co-operation has since hindered the work of re-construction. The result has been that the distress of the ruined nations has continued and increased, and the break-down of international trade has spread the distress to those nations which could have most easily recovered. Naturally, emigration has been thought of as a remedy. It has been stated that there are in Europe to-day 25¹ millions of people who desire to emigrate to the New World ; and the New World does not want them. This constitutes a problem, not only for the United States, but for the British Dominions who wish to maintain British ideals and institutions, and makes all the more urgent the necessity of keeping the emigrants from the British Isles within the British Commonwealth. Further no one can tell when the dykes of the East may break, and its teaming

1. The Migration of the Races. "The Round Table". March. 1921.

populations demand an entry to the unpeopled places of the earth.

The effects of the war on population in the overseas Dominions have been very serious. The great influx of people was suddenly stopped, and their own youth was recruited for service at long distances from home. The loss of life to the British Isles was to some extent mitigated by the gain through the cessation of emigration. The decline in the birthrate was lessened by the possibility of the troops spending their leave at their homes. This was impossible in the case of the Overseas Troops. The loss by death and disablement has been great. Thus the war not only stopped development, but actually destroyed the instrument of future development, namely, young effective life.¹

During the war the need for a more definite emigration policy was to some extent realised. Emigration had been more or less haphazard, and there was no really effective means of adjusting the supply of emigrants to the needs of the various Dominions. Impartial information was given to intending emigrants by the Emigrants' Information Office regarding the opportunities not only in the British Dominions but in foreign countries. But the system of selling steerage passages on commission by passage brokers' agents lent itself to many abuses. Sometimes the commission was given not only by the transportation companies concerned but also by Dominion Governments. These agents naturally had no interest in either the emigrant or the country to which he was going. Their aim was to secure the largest possible number of emigrants irrespective of their fitness or suitability. There was no effective control over

¹ During the war 336,749 citizens of the United States crossed the border to settle in Canada, and this influx serves to some extent as an offset to the loss from other sources. The numbers were: 1914 - 107,530; 1915 - 59,779; 1916 - 36,937; 1917 - 61,389; 1918 - 71,314. Canada Year Book, 1919 - p. 123.
W. A. Riddell

the operations of these agents, they could issue their own circulars and advertisements, "subject only to the possibility that they may be seen and criticised by the Emigrants' Information Office or by the representatives of one of the Dominions".¹ There was a tendency to paint conditions overseas in rosy colours. An impression was often created in the mind of the emigrant as to the possibility of easy success which was not in the best interest of the emigrant or of the country of his destination. It would probably be difficult to devise a scheme of disposing of passage tickets other than on commission, but the appointment of agents should be so controlled that the activity of unscrupulous individuals would be impossible. The amount of commission obtainable should not be sufficient to attract irresponsible agents, and means should be taken to ensure that the intending emigrant is informed of the disadvantages of the country in which he is interested as well as its advantages. The closer supervision now exercised by the agents of the Dominion Governments reduces the possibility of unsuitable persons being emigrated. to a minimum. So long as this scrutiny is in operation the work of unscrupulous passage agents is nullified, but should circumstances arise in which this would be lessened a more direct control than is now exercised by the Board of Trade would be advisable. The granting of bonuses by Oversea Governments to agents who secure emigrants has now been practically discontinued, and it is unlikely that it will be reverted to.

On the recommendation of the Imperial Conference of

1911 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the natural resources of the self-governing Dominions, together with the state of trade, the development achieved and the future possibilities. This Commission was appointed in 1912, and visited each of the five Oversea Dominions in the course of its labours. The Final Report was issued in 1918, and in convenient compass contains a wealth of information on the resources and possibilities of the Commonwealth. By no means the least valuable part of the work of the Commission had reference to the problems of emigration and immigration. It was recommended that a Central Emigration Authority be constituted having full control of emigration from the British Isles. This authority would exercise control over passage brokers, and their agents, and would have power to regulate the conditions of the transport of emigrants. Supervision would also be maintained over the various voluntary societies engaged in the work of emigration. Impartial information would be given to intending emigrants, and warning given in the case of unsuitable conditions prevailing in any country. The Oversea Governments would maintain their agents in the British Isles, and the Central Authority would work in close co-operation with them. There are undoubtedly many difficulties connected with such a scheme, but these should not be insurmountable. So far attempts at embodying the recommendations of the Commission in legislation have not been

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The chief difficulties are concerned with the adjustment of the duties of such an authority with those of the Board of Trade, and the Colonial Office, and the danger of interfering with the rights

1. This Report has been issued in book form for the greater convenience of the public.

2. An Emigration Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1918, but was withdrawn owing to opposition.

of the self-governing Dominions, or hurting their susceptibilities, objections have also been made by the leading shipping companies to certain provisions of the Emigration Bill of 1918,¹ which was based on the recommendations of the Commission. A further Oversea Settlement Bill was drafted in 1919 in which an attempt was made to eliminate the objectionable provisions. This Bill was not introduced owing to pressure of parliamentary business, and the creation of a new Authority under present conditions is hardly compatible with the need for national economy.

In December 1918 the Committee of the Emigrants' Information Office resigned, and the Oversea Settlement Committee was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies "in view of need for creating machinery to enable His Majesty's Government to deal effectively ~~with~~ with the problems which are likely to arise during the period of reconstruction after the war." The staff of the Emigrants' Information Office was included in the staff of the Committee, and the work previously carried on has been continued. In addition the Committee has charge of the Government scheme for the assistance of ex-service men and women to emigrate, and carry on this work in close co-operation with the Emigration Agents of the Dominion Governments. By this scheme free third class passages are granted to ex-service men and women who are going to assured employment in any part of the Empire, or who are taking up land under any of the Land Schemes of the Oversea Governments. Widows and dependents of ex-service men are also eligible for assistance. Originally it was intended that no applications for assistance would be received after the end of December 1920, but owing to the fact that conditions

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Reports Of The Oversea Settlement Committee. 1920-1921. Cmd 573, and
Cmd 1134.

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~~was~~ such as to make it difficult for some to avail themselves of the scheme, and at the request of the Dominion Governments, it was decided to extend the period during which applications will be received to the end of 1921.

This grant in aid ~~of~~ emigration does not necessarily indicate a change of policy on the part of the Government with regard to state aided emigration. The aid given to those who have served ~~in~~ the war is of a special character, and is looked upon rather as a grant in aid of the re-settlement of those whose careers have been interrupted by war service, and who probably would have emigrated during the war years under normal conditions. The volume of emigration before the war was so great that encouragement was not necessary, and there are indications that the same will be true when normal conditions return in the Oversea Dominions. The Oversea Settlement Committee, in a memorandum to the Colonial Office, shortly after its formation, expressed the opinion that under present conditions there does not "seem to be sufficient reason for departing from the established policy of His Majesty's Government of refusing to grant State aid upon any considerable scale to emigration in general, beyond such aid as is involved in the improvement of communications and the encouragement of the flow to the Dominions of the capital which is essential to all ~~de~~velopment, and consequently to the influx of population. In other words, while it is desirable to multiply the general facilities for Imperial development and communication, thus incidentally facilitating migration within the Empire on natural

lines, it is not, as a general rule, necessary or desirable artificially to stimulate the emigration of individuals as such". There is no doubt that from the point of view of the British Government this attitude is sound. But the very great increase in the cost of passages to the Dominions cannot fail to affect the number of emigrants. Before the war the vast majority of the emigrants saved from their earnings sufficient to cover the cost of the passage. With the cost now about trebled it is doubtful if so great a number will find it possible to do this. So far conditions have been such as to give little indication of the actual effect of the rise in cost, and an opinion must be based more or less on the general attitude towards emigration. A study of the history of emigration to Australia shows that, except under special circumstances, the grant of assisted passages was necessary in order to secure any considerable ~~number~~ number of emigrants. This was not because of the lack of attraction, but was due simply to the cost of transportation. North America, which could be reached more cheaply became the popular destination. The increased cost would undoubtedly influence a person in coming to a decision whether to hold on during a period of depression in the British Isles or take chances in one of the Dominions. At present we have no actual data on which to work in order to estimate the extent of this influence or what its effect will be in the future. The present depression is world-wide, and the difference between the various parts of the British Commonwealth is only one of degree. No part is sufficiently immune to attract population from any other part, and there is no

possibility of emigration providing relief for unemployment in the British Isles. But it is likely that a recovery will commence in the Oversea Dominions first. Upon that recovery depends the attractiveness of the Dominions. If that attraction is strong the present high cost of transportation will not deter those who can afford to pay. But what of those who are attracted, and to whom the cost is an insurmountable obstacle to their removal? Can the British Government be expected to provide funds to assist them? Under the present conditions the tremendous cost would make this impossible, even if it were desirable. And it is much open to question whether the British taxpayer should be called upon to pay for the removal of those who wish to emigrate. The gain from emigration is largely on the side of the Dominions. It would seem that in the case of the classes of emigrants required in the Dominions, when the cost of the passage hinders them from emigrating, it would be good policy for the Dominion Governments to provide assistance. This would entail a very careful selection of those assisted. There is no doubt that with the present unequal distribution of population in the British Commonwealth a soundly devised scheme of re-distribution is necessary. The difficulty in such a process would be to preserve the voluntary character of emigration, without which no scheme could be successful. The great need of the Dominions is settlers for the land. But the present system of scattered settlement provides little attraction for those who have been accustomed to life in the more populous British Isles. Closer settlement should be resorted to, and a bridge

should be constructed over which suitable settlers from the British Isles might pass. The underlying principles of the Wakefield System were sound, and, allowing for differing circumstances, it is only by their application that any agricultural settlement can be successful. A policy of closer settlement has been adopted in Australia, and there is no doubt that if a similar policy had been carried out on the prairies of Western Canada much greater success would have been achieved. The holding of agricultural land by companies or individuals for purely speculative purposes^s should be made impossible. If this were done there would be less difficulty through the isolation of new settlers, and conditions which practically preclude the successful settlement of town-dwellers on the land would be removed. The history of colonisation reveals the difficulties connected with the founding of agricultural settlements, and a colony composed solely of settlers from the British Isles is unlikely to be successful. But close settlement would bring all the advantages of the colony system without its disadvantages and dangers, and arrangements could be made by which settlers previously acquainted with each other could obtain land in the same district. An overseas settlement policy, united in by all the Governments of the British Commonwealth, based on a careful selection of settlers, a sound training and preparation for pioneer life, and a close settlement on the land, would seem to be advisable, and may be necessary if the best interests of the Commonwealth are to be served.

So far the Oversea Governments have been occupied mainly with the problems of re-settling their own returned troops, and

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and have not been able to give much attention to the general problem of land settlement. In 1916 Sir Rider Haggard visited the Oversea Dominions on behalf of the Royal Colonial Institute in order to interest the Oversea Governments in the problem of settling British ex-service on the land in the Dominions under the same conditions as their own troops. Encouraging promises were made by ~~the~~ practically all the Dominions, some of which have been found impossible of fulfillment. This has been particularly true of Australia. "As soon as the settlement of the Australian army was in sight, the different States then extended the special facilities afforded their own men to British ex-service men; but owing to the financial crisis and the difficulty of obtaining capital to provide for similar land settlement to British ex-service men these land proposals have had to be withdrawn, and at the present moment land in the different States of the Dominion is only obtainable under the ordinary Closer-^{1.}-Settlement Acts of the different States". By the Closer Settlement Acts the Governments of the various States are empowered to purchase land from private owners with a view to dividing it into farm allotments for the purpose of agricultural settlement. The conditions under which this land may be obtained vary in each State. In New South Wales the Government has power to give facilities to British ex-soldiers under the Returned Soldiers Settlement Acts, subject to the control of the Minister, but this grant is dependent on the previous settlement of the ex-service men of the Australian

1. Openings for British Settlers and Industries in Australia and Tasmania, by A.H. Ashbolt, Agent-General for Tasmania. in "United Empire", March, 1921. P. 165.

forces, and will not be available for some time. In Victoria the Discharged Soldiers Settlement ^{Act} applies to British Ex-service men, but there is no grant of free land, and some capital is required. In Western Australia the privileges of the Act may be extended to British ex-service men by the Minister. 160 acres of free land may be granted on conditions of residence and improvement. 1000 acres are required for a wheat farm and the remaining 840 may be bought at £1 per acre or less according to the quality of the land, and the payments spread over a period of 30 years. Tasmania provides facilities for ex-service men of the Australian and British forces who have had agricultural experience, but no free grants of land are made to anyone who has not been previously resident in the State. No special facilities are granted by any of the other States or by New Zealand.

South Africa is fully occupied with the settlement of her own ex-service men and no special privileges are given to men from the United Kingdom. The British South Africa Company offers land in Northern Rhodesia to ex-service men from any part of the Empire free at an annual quit rent of about £1 per 1000 acres. Under this scheme settlers require capital of not less than £1,500. South Africa possesses many attractions in its irrigated lands for settlers with capital, but great care must be exercised in the selection of land, and it has been found necessary to issue official warnings against fraudulent land companies. Emigration from the British Isles to South Africa presents many serious difficulties, both political and economic. There is strong opposition on the part of a certain section of the population to British immigration, and any scheme for assistance

would evoke hostility. From the economic point of view there is the question of native labour. Sir Rider Haggard has said "I think it my duty to say at once that I cannot recommend men and women of the working classes to migrate from Great Britain to the Union of South Africa. Of course there may be exceptions; thus skilled mechanics or ~~tradesmen~~ might find employment here or there within the Union. Again, there is a certain demand for men of probity and character, especially if they have had any agricultural experience, to act as bailiffs and caretakers of farms. Such positions, however, can only be obtained in the country, and therefore must be considered highly speculative and uncertain. The ordinary working man would find himself in immediate competition with the black labour of South Africa, and indeed, as experience shows, often enough before he had been there¹ long, would be expecting Kaffirs to do his work for him".

In Canada special facilities are given to ex-service men from all branches of the Forces of any part of the British Empire, and also to the widows of the men who died on active service. These privileges include the free grant of 160 acres from the Dominion *in addition to the 160 acres available under the Homestead Laws.* up to Lands, and a loan on these free homesteads ~~of~~ £600 for the purchase of live stock and equipment and permanent improvements, the amount to be determined by the settler's security. Land may also be purchased by paying 20% of the purchase price, and on these lands loans to the purchase of amount of £300 may be advanced on the land, and further loans on the purchase of livestock and equipment, the erection of buildings and permanent improvements up to £600. Various facilities are given also

1. The After-War Settlement and Employment of Ex-Service Men in the Oversea Dominions, by Sir Rider Haggard. P. 7.

for the economical purchase of farm equipment and live stock, as these are purchased by the Soldier Settlement Board and sold to the settlers at cost. Ex-service men selected under this scheme must have £200 on landing in Canada. A special Selection Committee of Canadian farmers visited various centres in the British Isles during 1920 to interview applicants and ~~about 365~~ ³⁶⁵ were selected, ~~who, with their families, comprised about 800 souls.~~ ^{who, with their families, comprised}

~~that number who put in their applications to the Oversea Settlement Committee.~~ ^{4.} In addition to the scheme of the Dominion Government, the Provincial Governments controlling Crown Lands offer facilities for settlement, and also various private land companies. ^{x 1.} Of special interest in this connection is the Canadian Pacific Railway scheme for settlement on farms previously prepared for the reception of the settler. Certain monetary advances are available, and arrangements are made for repayment of the advances, and ^{payment of} the purchase price of the land by instalments.

A movement which is likely to have important and valuable results in Western Canada has been inaugurated by a body known as the Western Canada Colonisation Association. The aim of this Association is to bring about the closer settlement of the prairies. The Association has no lands for sale, and its aims are purely national and patriotic. There are 20,000,000 acres of privately owned land in Western Canada within fifteen miles of the railways still unoccupied and the work of the Association is to secure the settlement of these lands which would maintain two million people. ^{1.} The sum of about £300,000 has been contributed to the furtherance of this object by prominent citizens, and the leading business

X. See Appendix for a summary of the operations of the Soldier Settlement Board of Canada to November, 1920.
 1. Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee. 1921.

corporations. It is intended to give advice and direction to settlers, to arrange for their suitable distribution, to co-ordinate the work of the various bodies interested in land settlement, and to carry on propaganda in order to secure the proper type of settler. The late Quartermaster-General of the Canadian Forces has been appointed managing director of the Association.

In Australia there is a growing sense of the need of securing settlers from the British Isles. At a recent Conference of Federal and State Premiers it was agreed to adopt a policy of land settlement. The Commonwealth is to control the organisation in the British Isles, and the Agents-general of the various States are to act as a consultative Committee. Settlers will be assisted in various ways by the State Governments, and the Federal Government will provide funds for land settlement and public works.

A company which is attracting attention is the "Australia Farms Limited". The aim of this Company is to assist in the settlement of selected men possessing small capital. The Company becomes responsible for the period of three years for the management of the farms of the settlers whom it accepts, and makes arrangements for giving the settlers training and experience. This Company has been recommended by the Oversea Settlement Committee, and funds have been set aside for the purpose of assisting those who take up land under its auspices.

In South Africa an officer has been appointed at Cape Town to give information and advice to intending settlers on their arrival. An Association composed of private persons has been formed to commemorate the arrival of the settlers at the Cape of Good Hope

in 1820. This Association is known as The 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association. In addition to erecting suitable Memorials to the 1820 settlers the Association aims at introducing a similar type of settler into South Africa, and proposes to give them assistance in the work of settlement.

The statistics of the assistance given by the British Government to ^{ex-service} emigrants reveal the care with which selections are being made by the Dominion Governments. From the commencement of operations until the 31st December 1920 there were almost 75,000 ex-service men and women who applied for assistance under the scheme. These with their dependents represented almost 150,000 persons. But only 21,295 of these applicants were accepted by the Dominion Governments and granted free passages. These with their dependents would amount to almost 39,000. Thus only a little over one quarter of the applicants were accepted, the remainder being rejected because of ill-health, physical disability, or general unsuitability. These facts reveal something of the difficulties which surround any scheme for emigration.

The need for a definite policy of emigration cannot be too strongly emphasised. There are opportunities within the British Commonwealth, for all those who desire to leave the British Isles, equal to, and in most cases greater than, any that can be found outside. Further, the strength of the Commonwealth depends upon its settlement and development by men and women of British interests and sympathies,

1. The destination of those assisted is as follows: Canada - 14658; Australia and Tasmania - 11983 : New Zealand - 7417 : South Africa - 3068 : East Africa - 476 : Rhodesia - 326 : Other Crown Colonies and Dependencies - 769. TOTAL, 38697.

and preferably of British stock. The political reasons for retaining British emigrants within the commonwealth are strong. The economic reasons are equally forceful. The emigrant from the British Isles settling in ~~one~~ one of the Dominions consumes a greater proportion of British goods than would be the case if he settled in a foreign country. The effect of this is to provide more work in the British Isles, and increase the prosperity of British Industries. On the other hand, the great need of Great Britain is for food and raw material. Conditions are now becoming such that the Dominions must be increasingly depended on to supply this need. Hence the necessity for developing their resources, and bringing their vast areas of fertile agricultural land under cultivation. This is the immediate necessity. What the future holds it would be difficult and risky to attempt to picture. The war period has witnessed a very great development in industry in the Dominions, and there are vast possibilities in this direction in the future. The mineral resources of the Dominions are unbounded and to draw an exaggerated picture of the future would hardly be possible. But the work of the present generation is to develop the agricultural resources primarily. Yet we witness even in the Dominions the rush to the towns. One reason for this is undoubtedly the fact that the returns to trade and industry are greater in proportion to the labour expended than is the case in agriculture. This is not as it ought to be. Two things are needed in order to save agriculture. The expenses of distribution, and the profits of the middlemen should be reduced. The Dominions Royal Commission in ~~referring to~~ referring to agriculture reported: "During our

journeys throughout the Empire we have been impressed by the fact, which is general in the world and which is not confined to any particular epoch, that the industries engaged in the utilisation of the land are less remunerative than city trades and the occupations of middlemen and merchants. Too much of the profit appears to go to the distributing interests and not enough to the primary producer. This tends to concentrate people to an undue extent in large cities and to withdraw them from the country districts where their presence is most needed. Apart from the financial attraction of the city, life there presents greater amenities and greater excitement~~s~~ than do agricultural and pastoral pursuits". The undue pressure of the middlemen has led to the very successful combination of the farmers of Western Canada. The aim at first was merely to eliminate the profits of the middlemen in the sale of grain, but the combination has developed into a great purchasing agency, and has even entered into competition in the production of certain things required on the farms. Any means by which a fairer return is secured to agriculture will add to the strength of the Commonwealth. The second need is a moral one. A people trained to appreciate the value of a simple, healthy existence would not be lured by the cheap gaiety of the towns. We live in an age when the successful business man is the hero of society, and to be within reach of a cinema one of the chief aims of life. The need of simpler ideals is no less real than the need for economic justice. The call "Back to the land" must be obeyed not only in the letter, but in the spirit.

Attempts have been made to estimate the value of an immigrant^{1.} to the country in which he settles, either by calculating the average cost of rearing, or computing the balance of possible production over consumption by an immigrant. Such calculations are interesting, and by them it may be possible to arrive at the actual loss sustained by the country which has borne the cost of rearing the emigrant. But to calculate the future value of a human being is practically impossible, and the cost of production is an unsafe guide. The economic value of a Barnardo Boy is undoubtedly greater than that of a "remittance man" whereas the cost of producing the latter is out of all proportion to the cost of production in the case of the former. Further, it may be a gain to a country to get rid of undesirable citizens, and these undesirables may be very useful in the country to which they go because the different conditions of life may suit their temperament. The value of an individual depends upon his ability coupled with an opportunity to use that ability, and would be measured by the amount of wealth he adds to the community during his life. The amount of compensation given to a widow or dependent on the producer being killed might be taken as an estimate of his value to the community. But it is manifestly impossible to place a money value on all the services which an individual renders. Many of these are not directly productive, but are none the less necessary and valuable. In a newly settled country it is the primary producer who is of greatest economic value, and that value depends on what he can

1. e.g. Marshall in Principles of Economics. P. 564. note.

produce and the demand there is for the product. In the Dominions there are vast resources awaiting exploitation, and population is needed. Population is the basis of the development of new countries. Each immigrant is valuable not only as a producer, but as a consumer giving employment to others, and assisting in the progress of industry. But his economic value depends upon the services which he can render to the community and the need for those services.

Those who advocate the rapid increase of population would seem to hold the opinion that population ought to be increased simply for the purpose of developing the natural resources of a country. Perhaps a saner position would be to say that natural resources ought to be developed for the sake of the population. The progress of science and invention during the past century has so accelerated production that the theories of Malthus are treated with scant seriousness. But the question arises, will the ratio of production to population continue to increase? Is it not possible to conceive a time when, with the present scientific methods of the conservation of life, the population of the world will be greater than can be supported by its resources? A hundred years has served to fill up the vast spaces of the United States, and this is a short time in the history of the world. The real problems of the United States are now only commencing. Hitherto there was a continually expanding frontier where population overflowed. It was scarcely possible for too many immigrants to arrive. But those days are gone, and serious restrictions on immigration are now necessary. It is

during the next fifty years that the real test will have to be borne by the American people. Are we to increase population merely for the sake of filling the earth? The past has seen the rush for possession by force of arms. Are we now to see a rush for possession by increase of population? From the purely national point of view this would seem to be necessary. But what of the clash when this is accomplished. The present century may see the British Dominions fully peopled, and looking for new worlds to conquer, and there is no emigration off the earth. However we shall have the benefit of watching how the problem is dealt with by the American people, and perhaps one is apt to be influenced by the pessimism of the times. But the fact that this is not likely to become a problem for the present generation does not make it any less real.

Should the League of Nations survive the untoward accidents of its birth, and become a real power among the nations, it might do much to solve the problems of world migration. At present we can only hope. The work already taken in hand would indicate that migration is one of the world problems which the League intends to assist with. At the Washington meeting of the International Labour Conference an International Commission on Emigration was appointed, and has been collecting information regarding emigration from and immigration into the various countries. The Commission consists of a Chairman, and eighteen members, six of whom are Government representatives, six representing employers and six representing workers. The Commission

propose to make a comprehensive survey of the present position of emigration. The States composing the International Labour organisation are approaching the question of emigration from an international standpoint. One of the main objects of the Commission is to co-ordinate legislation affecting emigration, and to eliminate the causes of international friction.

"The governing body of the International Labour Conference at Washington allocated the representation on the Commission. The President was to be a representative of the British Government, the Vice-President a representative of the Italian Government, and government representatives were to be sent by Brazil, Canada, China, France, Japan, and India ; employers representatives by South Africa, ~~the~~ Argentina, Spain, Greece, Czecho-Slovakia, and Switzerland; and workers' representatives by Germany, Australia, the United States, Poland, Italy, and Sweden ;"^{1.}

The development of co-operation among the nations may do much to avoid the dangers of the future, and, whatever the direct results may be, a knowledge of the problems of world-migration, and a dispassionate discussion of them by an international organisation should help towards their solution.

1. The Times. 15th. January 1921.

SPECIAL EMIGRATION PROBLEMS: WOMEN AND CHILDREN

(A) WOMEN.

The emigration of women has always constituted a serious problem. While the immediate difficulties may be greater, the emigration of families is ultimately the more successful. Attempts made in the past to transfer single women from the British Isles to the Overseas parts of the Empire have not always been successful. Failure has been due chiefly to the lack of proper selection, the unsuitability of those emigrated, and the difficulty which women accustomed to conditions in the British Isles find in fitting into the life in the newer places. The voluntary emigration of women ~~which has been a failure~~ can scarcely be said to have been an unqualified success. Again the trouble has been the unsuitability of many of those emigrating. The system of granting bonuses to passage agents has been condemned because of the influence which these agents have exerted in the emigration of unsuitable women.¹ The work of various societies engaged in assisting women emigrants can be spoken of much more favourably. These societies have taken the trouble to find out the conditions in the Overseas Dominions, and have selected those whom they assist with a great deal of care. They also make provision for the reception of women on their arrival at their destination, and look after their interests during the voyage.

But the problem of the emigration of women is not merely one of removal. At the basis of the problem lies the disparity between the sexes in the various parts of the Commonwealth. In 1911

1. Report of the Delegates appointed by the Oversea Settlement Committee to enquire as to openings for women in Canada. Cmd 403. 1919.

there were 1,329,000 more females than males in the United Kingdom, while in the self-governing Dominions there were 762,000 more males than females. The result of the war has been to increase the disproportion in the British Isles and to decrease it in the Dominions. Between 1870 and 1910 there were 657,000 more boys than girls born in England and Wales, and during the same period 651,000 more males than females died, so that vital statistics show no reason for a disparity between the sexes. The cause is found in the excess of male over female emigration. From 1871 to 1911 this excess amounted to 590,000. This feature of emigration does not apply to Ireland where the proportion has always been about equal. In fact during some years there has been an excess in female emigration, and at the time of the last census in the United States there were resident there actually almost 130,000 more females than males who were born in Ireland. In Scotland the conditions are similar to England and Wales.

Looking at the question superficially it would seem that the problem would be solved by the simple transfer of a certain number of females to the Overseas Dominions. But the greater proportion of the surplus women are of ages over 45. The emigration of the older women is not favoured by the Dominions, and it is unlikely that they would be successful in adapting themselves to the new conditions. Each year that is added over twenty to a woman's age makes her less valuable from the point of view of the Dominions. The emigrating age would be roughly between 15 and 45, and in 1911 ^{between these ages.} there were 663,000 surplus females in England and Wales. This number
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is probably larger than is actual owing to the tendency to under-statement of age in census reports. So that an analysis of the total female surplus rapidly reduces the number who could be considered as possible emigrants. These would be again reduced considerably owing to reasons of health, and various other causes. In the end the number of women actually available as emigrants would be a small proportion of the total surplus, but by no means an unimportant proportion.

Turning to the Dominions the question arises as to the possibility of absorbing women emigrants from the British Isles. The disproportion between the sexes has been reduced considerably by the casualties in the war. The number of war-brides taken to the Dominions has also had a very important influence, especially in Australia, and it is even questioned whether any more could be absorbed immediately.^{1.} Further the surplus of males in the Dominions was greatest among the older men. in 1911, and the effect of the war will have increased this proportion. With regard to the distribution of the surplus we find that in the Australian cities there is a surplus of women actually greater than that in England and Wales taken as a whole, and almost as great as in the larger towns. A similar condition prevails in Canada where there is a still greater surplus of males. So that the ^{pa}dispro~~ity~~ between the sexes really exists only in the rural districts in the Oversea Dominions.

With regard to openings for women in the Dominions there

1. Report to the Oversea Settlement Committee of the Delegates appointed to enquire as to openings for Women in Australia. Cmd 745. 1920

has always been a large demand for domestic servants, and this demand is as great as ever. But there is a shortage of domestic servants in the British Isles and this ~~supply~~^{demand} would have to be met by those not already in service. The greater social amenities attached to the position of the domestic servant in certain sections of the Dominions would probably attract some who would not take up this work in the United Kingdom. But domestic service in the Dominions is less specialised and the demand is largely for those who are prepared to do all kinds of work. There are openings in the teaching and nursing professions, particularly in the rural districts. Outside of these only a very small number of women could be absorbed in the Dominions.

The great problem for women in the Dominions is that of rural life, especially in the newer districts. It is in the "back-blocks" of Australia and New Zealand that the demand exists for ~~teachers and~~ nurses, and the life calls for exceptional missionary qualities. In New Zealand the supply of teachers for primary schools is not adequate to the demand, and there are opportunities for those who are prepared to take up work in the smaller towns and in the rural districts. In Canada there is a demand for teachers in the districts settled by foreigners, where teaching by foreign teachers is no longer allowed. The freedom of life in the rural communities in the Dominions has many attractions, but it has also disadvantages. Anyone expecting to find a social life even approximating to that in the rural districts in the British Isles would be much disappointed. The sense of isolation calls for qualities that are exceptional. Women who settle in the

more isolated districts require to be strong both physically and mentally. There is no doubt that one reason for the greater proportion of women in the towns in the Dominions is the tendency for emigrant women to avoid the rural districts, but even those born in the Dominions succumb to the attractions of the towns. If the Dominions wish to attract British women to the rural districts a policy of closer settlement must be adopted. The interests of individual speculators must be sacrificed, if necessary, to the greater and more important national interests. Any attempt to remove women from the British Isles to the Dominions which is not accompanied by an effort to make rural conditions more attractive cannot fail to fall short of success. Instead of the cheerless bachelor "shack", deserted for the most part during the winter, there should be a "home".

There is no doubt that all efforts to facilitate the emigration of suitable women to the Dominions should be encouraged. A policy, united in by both the home and the Dominion Governments should be formulated, by which selected women would be taken to the Dominions, and if necessary, trained for the occupations open in the Dominions, and secured employment. The experience which many women have had during the war should make it much easier for them to adapt themselves to conditions overseas, and there are indications that a great deal of consideration would be given in the Dominions to women who have been engaged in war service. The aim of any emigration scheme should be to increase the proportion of women in the rural districts. A further increase in the number of women in the towns would not serve to solve the problem.

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The three oldest and most important Women's Emigration Societies have re-organised since the war, and are giving valuable assistance with the emigration of women. These societies, the British Women's Emigration Association, the South African Colonisation Society, and the Colonial Intelligence League, to which the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Girl's Friendly Society were affiliated for emigration purposes, have amalgamated as the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women, which has been registered as an Incorporated Society under the Companies Acts 1908 to 1917. The Society works in co-operation with the Oversea Settlement Committee, and in 266 provincial centres interviewing committees have been established. By this means a more accurate knowledge of the intending emigrants can be obtained, and advice given.

Arrangements have been made for the reception of women emigrants in Canada by the establishment of a Council of Immigration of Women, under the auspices of the Department of Immigration and Colonisation at Ottawa. This Council consists of representatives of all the women's organisations of national importance and a representative from each provincial Government. Assistance is received from public funds to enable the Council to equip and maintain hostels for the reception of women emigrants. The new arrivals are assisted in finding suitable employment, and are encouraged to return to New Zealand, and South Africa, the hostels in case of difficulty. In Australia, such arrangements have not yet been made, but the Victoria League provides emigrants with introductions to its members overseas, and sends information of such introductions to the branch concerned.

1. *Canada's Women Immigrants*, by Mrs Robert Knibb. Sec' Treas of the Canadian Council of Immigration of Women, in *Canada Magazine*. March, 1921.

(B) CHILDREN.

The recent history of juvenile emigration shows that life in the Dominions offers many advantages to children who are destitute, or lacking proper parental care. But arrangements for child emigration have not always been of their present character. The treatment of children in the early part of the nineteenth century is one of the blots in the history of modern industry, and this was reflected in the methods of child emigration. The Poor Law authorities, desiring to rid themselves of some of their burdens, resorted to the emigration of children. This practice became more general after the early Factory Acts made it more difficult to get ^{pauper} children accepted in the factories. But the methods of emigration were such that even the hard life in the factories would have been preferable. This movement was carried on with a great deal of secrecy largely because the Poor Law authorities feared that if it were widely known there would be an inundation of children, but partly also because the conditions under which it was carried out were none too human. In 1830 the "Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy", which afterwards became the "Children's Friendly Society", was formed, and carried out the first open emigration of children. The aim of this Society was to assist destitute children to attain a useful life in one of the Colonies. Before being sent out they were given training for a short period. The Cape of Good Hope was the destination to which the young emigrants were sent at first, but ^{1.} later Canada was chosen.

1.
See Chapter.V. Page. 73.

The children were apprenticed to respectable persons, and a certain amount of supervision was exercised over their welfare. After the famine in Ireland over 4000 orphan girls were sent to New South Wales, and South Australia, and provided with employment. The Poor Law Unions provided them with outfits, and paid their expenses to the port of embarkation, while the remaining expense was met by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners out of the Australian Land Funds. About the same time the London Ragged Schools began to send parties of children to Australia. These children were taken chiefly from the Reformatory Schools, and the expense was met by the Emigration Commissioners. There was a great demand overseas for the children, but the Home authorities were strongly opposed to their emigration. However in spite of official opposition this was carried on to some extent, and sometimes the Guardians contracted with sea-captains for the removal of children to various places overseas at a very small cost per head. Evidently these "contractors" had little difficulty in disposing of their charges as apprentices. It can be seen that under this system abuses would very easily arise.

The first attempt at a thoroughly organised system of juvenile emigration was made by two ladies, Miss Macpherson and Miss Rye, who were convinced of the greater opportunities for a successful career for orphan or neglected children in the Dominions. In the Sixties they established "Homes" in England and in Canada. The "Homes" in England were used for the purpose of training the children, and those in Canada were stations for the reception and distribution

of their juvenile charges. In 1868-69 the Guardians of two or three Unions made use of their organisation to send out a few pauper children with those going from the "Homes", and in 1870 the Poor Law Board sanctioned the emigration of pauper children under their care. Thus there were two classes of children dealt with, namely, pauper children, and "arabs" or "waifs and strays" picked up from the streets. No distinction was made between these two classes in placing them in Canada. Of pauper children Miss Macpherson distributed 350, and Miss Rye 800. The ages of the children varied from 6 to 14. The pauper children had to give their consent to be emigrated before two magistrates in Petty Sessions, and in the case of the other children the consent of the parents or guardians was supposed to be received. The Guardians gave eight guineas for every ^{pauper} child taken out, and further assistance was given by the Government of the Dominion, and of the Province of Ontario. The children were sent to families, and applicants had to produce a recommendation from a clergyman or other respectable person. The children were applied for usually in advance of their arrival. The weak part of the work was the lack of proper means for the superintendence of the children after they had been placed. The great majority were well treated and were successful, but ~~then~~ there were instances of ill-treatment, and of waywardness, and in some cases of absolute failure. A Local Government Inspector was sent out from England ^{in 1874} to enquire into the success of the scheme. His Report emphasised the weakness of the work, which undoubtedly existed, and did scant justice to the philanthropic efforts of the ladies,

or the success which they had achieved. ^{9.} The result of this report was that the Local Government Board prohibited further emigration of Poor Law children, but Miss Rye continued with the emigration of destitute children who were not under Poor Law control.

Expenditure for juvenile emigration was again sanctioned by the Local Government Board in 1883, and in 1888 definite arrangements were made with the Canadian Government for the reception and superintendence of the emigrants, and since then Government children have been sent to Canada under these regulations. Children sent out must have at least six months training, ~~and~~ be certified medically as suitable for emigration, and be accepted by the Canadian Emigration Authorities in London. Societies or individuals taking charge of the emigration of the children must have "Homes" in Canada to which the children are taken, and to which they can return in case of difficulty. Information of the placing of a child in a home in Canada must be sent to the Government at Ottawa, and also to the Guardians of the Union from which the child has been taken, these Guardians being responsible for passing on the information to the Local Government Board. In placing the children an undertaking must be given that regard will be made for the religious denomination of each child. The consent of the child before two magistrates before being sent out is still necessary. Arrangements are made for the inspection of the children by Canadian Government Inspectors, the Canadian ~~&~~ Government bearing the expense of the first inspection, and the remainder being carried out at the charge of the Board of Guardians,

1. Report to the President of the Local Government Board by Andrew Doyle, Esq. Local Government Inspector, as to the Emigration of Pauper Children to Canada. 1875.
Letter by Miss Rye to the President of the Local Government Board. 1877.
Reply by Mr Doyle. 1877.

Pauper children who are not orphans, deserted, or adopted by the Guardians cannot be emigrated without the consent of their parents.

Another very profitable field for juvenile emigration is to be found in the Reformatory and Industrial Schools. The Children Act of 1908 enacts: "If any youthful offender or child under 14 in or placed out on licence (to live with some trustworthy and respectable person) from a certified reformatory or industrial school, or a person when under the supervision of the managers of such a school, conducts himself well, the managers of the school may, with his own consent, apprentice him to, or dispose of him in, any trade, calling, or service, including service in the Army or Navy, or by emigration, notwithstanding that his period of detention or supervision has not expired, and such apprenticing or disposition shall be as valid as if the managers were his parents; provided that where he is to be disposed of by emigration, and in any case unless he has been detained for 12 months, the consent of the Secretary of State shall also be required for the exercise of any power under this section". Children who have been taken from the charge of their parents or guardians because of cruelty or neglect, and placed with some other person or society may also be emigrated, with the consent of the Secretary of State. The parents of such children may apply to the High Court, or the Court of Session for their production, but by the provisions of the Custody of Children Act of 1891, the Court may decline to make the order, if it is of the opinion that the parent has abandoned or deserted the child. Should a writ for production be issued the party responsible for the emigration of

1. Provision was made for the emigration of children from Reformatories and Industrial Schools by the Act of 1891, which amended the Industrial Schools Act of 1866.

the child would have to bear the expense of repatriation, and this undoubtedly acts as a hindrance to such emigration.

Notwithstanding the many advantages which life in one of the Dominions has for children from reformatory and industrial schools a comparatively small number ~~has~~ been sent out. This is especially true of the Reformatory Schools, and in their case may be partly due to doubts in the Dominions as to the success of such children. But there is no doubt that the overflow of energy, and dislike for convention which sometimes lead children to perform actions contrary to law, which call for special measures in a closely settled community having a highly developed civilisation, may be the very qualities which make for the highest success on the frontiers of the Empire. There is no reason why, by a careful process of selection, those who are naturally criminal could not be eliminated, and those who have got into trouble through exuberance of spirits, or lack of proper control, given an opportunity under conditions of freer life. In 1918 over 3000 boys and girls were received into Borstal Institutions, and Reformatory Schools in the British Isles, and a similar number discharged, but the average annual emigration of such has been only about forty. Children from industrial schools are not open to the same objection from the Dominions, but the number emigrated has been scarcely ~~less~~ ^{more} satisfactory. In 1918 there were over 12,000 children in industrial schools, but the average annual emigration is under 200.

With regard to Poor Law children there were in England and Wales in 1918 30,800 children in separate institutions, and about

10,000 children, mostly orphans, boarded out. These numbers which are a decrease of about 22% on pre-war conditions have likely increased during the present depression. But in spite of these numbers, and the elaborate and effective organisation for the emigration and care of children overseas only about 500 have been emigrated annually. This small number is to be attributed largely to lack of knowledge on the part of the Guardians, and a failure to appreciate the gain which the chance of a new life would bring to the children. The expense entailed would be much less than is incurred by the Guardians in the support of the child at home.

The great demand for these children overseas may be seen by the large number of applications for their services. During 19 years from 1901 there were 34,600 juvenile emigrants sent to Canada, and for these there were 389,223 applications, that is, where one child was sent out eleven could have been accommodated. The system of inspection in Canada, and the method of reporting, is most elaborate and effective, and has met with universal approval. Not only are regular reports sent to the Government twice a year, but unannounced visits are paid to the children. Further, the work of the inspectors is seconded by a strong public opinion, and should a case of ill-treatment occur the inspectors would be notified immediately.

So far the emigration of children has been largely confined to Canada, but attempts are being made to encourage the movement to Australia and New Zealand. Before the war Mr T. E. Sedgwick took a party of fifty boys to New Zealand, and secured them employment. Part of the expense was to be met by the boys out of their wages,

1. Applications for the children are not advertised for, and the number would be much greater if more children were available, but the belief that to have an application filled is somewhat hopeless leads many to refrain from applying.

and a Bank account formed and taken charge of on behalf of the boys until they reached the age of 21. Other parties were sent to Australia, namely ³⁰~~43~~ to New South Wales, 78 to Victoria, and a few to Queensland. The lead is now being taken by Western Australia, to which a number of children has been sent by the Child Emigration Society. A farm school was opened at Pinjarra, 54 miles south of Perth, in 1912. So far only ~~78~~ a small number has been taken out, but arrangements are being made to increase the number, and also to provide for the emigration of girls.^{1.} Arrangements are being made also with Dr Barnardo's Homes for the reception of boys. Financial and other assistance is given by the Government of Western Australia, and at present this is part of the settled policy of the Government.

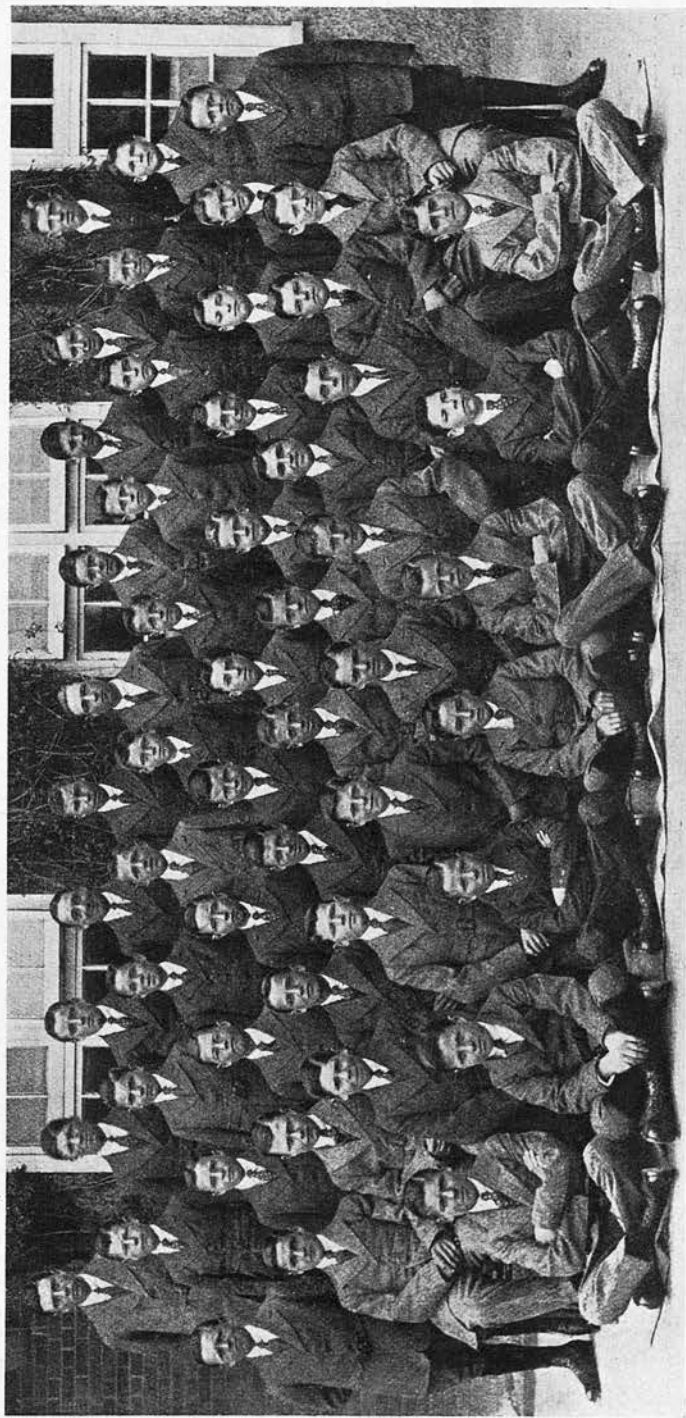
The ¹~~2~~ emigration of children has been carried out entirely by voluntary societies. The Poor Law and Home Office authorities have sent their juvenile emigrants through these societies, and have credited the societies with the amount of money allowed by statute for their emigration. In this way they have been able to make use of the "Homes" belonging to the societies in the British Isles and in Canada, and of the admirable arrangements which are made for the care and supervision of the children. In 1914 there were seventeen emigration societies dealing with children, but by far the largest and most important is Dr Barnardo's Homes. For a number of years prior to the war about 1000 children were sent overseas annually, chiefly to Canada. Since the Association was founded it has been

1. Paper read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on February 24th 1920 by Kingsley Fairbridge, Founder of the Society.

responsible for the emigration of approximately 30,000 children.

There could be no more hopeful or profitable emigration than that of children who because of circumstances for which they are in no way responsible are handicapped on the threshold of life. With the existing organisation for carrying out this work the possibility of injustice being done to the child is reduced to the absolute minimum. The children, although unfortunate, have not succumbed to the "pessimism of experience", which makes it so difficult for those whose spirit has been broken by adversity to make a recovery. By training much of the initial disadvantage can be overcome, and being placed in hopeful surroundings, where ~~the~~ the opportunities of life are many, their success is practically assured. This is a type of emigration of the value of which there can be no doubt. Lives which would probably be wasted, or at least reduced in value, by returning to ^{an} unwholesome environment are conserved, and given an opportunity of expansion. The gain is not only to the individuals themselves but to the Commonwealth as a whole.

"CANADA" April 30th 1921.



YOUNG FARMERS FOR CANADA.
Fifty-three boys from Mr. Fegan's training farm, Goudhurst, Kent, who left by the Canadian Pacific liner *Minnedosa* to engage in farming in Canada.

*This picture illustrates some of the work that is being done
with regard to juvenile emigration.*

APPENDIX. I.

TOTAL EMIGRATION FROM THE BRITISH ISLES. 1815-1920.

Year.	N. American Colonies.	United States	Destination Australia & New Zealand	All other places.	Total for each year.	Total for five years
1815.	680.	1209.		192	2081.	97799.
1816.	3370.	9022.		118.	12510.	
1817.	9797.	10280.		557.	20634.	
1818.	15136.	12429.		222.	27787.	
1819.	23534.	10674.		579.	34787.	
1820.	17921.	6745.		1063.	25729.	95030.
1821.	12955.	4958.		384.	18297.	
1822.	16018.	4137.		279.	20429.	
1823.	11355.	5032.		163.	16550.	
1824.	8774.	5152.		99.	14025.	
1825.	8741.	5551.	485.	114.	14891.	121084.
1826.	12818.	7063.	903.	116.	20900.	
1827.	12648.	14526.	715.	114.	28003.	
1828.	12084.	12817.	1056.	135.	26092.	
1829.	13307.	15678.	2016.	197.	31198.	
1830.	30574.	24887.	1242.	204.	56907.	381956.
1831.	58067.	23418.	1561.	114.	83160.	
1832.	66339.	32872.	3733.	196.	103140.	
1833.	28808.	29109.	4093.	517.	62527.	
1834.	40060.	33074.	2800.	288.	76222.	
1835.	15573.	26720.	1860.	325.	44478.	287358.
1836.	34226.	37774.	3124.	293.	75417.	
1837.	29884.	36770.	5054.	326.	72034.	
1838.	4577.	14332.	14021.	292.	33222.	
1839.	12658.	33536.	15786.	227.	62207.	
1840.	32293.	40642.	15850.	1958.	90743.	465577.
1841.	38164.	45017.	32625.	2786.	118592.	
1842.	54123.	63852.	8534.	1835.	128344.	
1843.	23518.	28335.	3478.	1881.	57212.	
1844.	22924.	43660.	2229.	1873.	70686.	
1845.	31803.	58538.	830.	2330.	93501.	1029209.
1846.	43439.	82239.	2347.	1826.	129851.	
1847.	109680.	142154.	4949.	1487.	258270.	
1848.	31065.	188233.	23904.	4887.	248089.	
1849.	41367.	219450.	32191.	6490.	299498.	
1850.	32961.	223078.	16037.	8773.	280849.	1638945.
1851.	42605.	267357.	21532.	4472.	335966.	
1852.	32873.	244261.	87881.	3749.	368764.	
1853.	34522.	230885.	61401.	3129.	329937.	
1854.	43761.	193065.	83237.	3366.	323429.	
1855.	17966.	103414.	52309.	3118.	176807.	800640.
1856.	16378.	111837.	44584.	3755.	176554.	
1857.	21001.	126905.	61248.	3721.	212875.	
1858.	9704.	59716.	39295.	5257.	113972.	

1. During the ten years 1815-1824 the customs returns do not record any emigration to Australia, but it appears from other sources that there went out in 1821, 320: in 1822, 875: in 1823, 543: in 1824, 780: in 1825, 458 persons. These numbers have not been included in the totals of this table.

APPENDIX. ~~XX~~ I. CONTINUED.

Year.	British N. American	United States	Australia & Cape New Zealand	of Good Hope & Natal	All other Places	Total each year	Total Five Years
1859.	6689.	70303.	31013.		12427.	120432.	
1860.	9786.	87500.	24302.		6881.	128469.	
1861.	12707.	49764.	23738.		5561.	91770.	
1862.	15522.	58706.	41843.		5143.	121214.	774111.
1863.	17777.	146813.					
	18083.	146813.	53154.		5808.	223758.	
1864.	12721.	147042.	40942.		8195.	208900.	
1865.	17211.	147258.	37283.		8049.	209801.	
1866.	13255.	161000.	24097.		6530.	204882.	
1867.	15503.	159275.	14466.		6709.	195953.	1064988.
1868.	21062.	155532.	12809.		6922.	196325.	
1869.	33891.	203001.	14901.		6234.	258027.	
1870.	35295.	196075.	17065.		8508.	256940.	
1871.	32671.	198843.	12227.		8694.	252435.	
1872.	32205.	233747.	15875.		13385.	295213.	1356214.
1873.	37208.	233073.	26428.		13903.	310612.	
1874.	25450.	148161.	53958.		13445.	241014.	
1875.	17378.	105046.	35525.		15860.	173809.	
1876.	12327.	75533.	33191.		17171.	138222.	
1877.	9289.	64027.	31071.		15584.	119971.	
1878.	13836.	81557.	37214.		15056.	147669.	796834.
1879.	22509.	134590.	42178.		17886.	217163.	
1880.	29340.	257274.	25438.	9803.	10439.	332294.	
1881.	34561.	307973.	24093.	14229.	11658.	392514.	
1882.	53475.	295539.	38604.	13614.	12056.	413288.	1839154.
1883.	53566.	252226.	73017.	6713.	116357.	397157.	
1884.	37043.	203519.	45944.	4699.	12696.	303901.	
1885.	22928.	184470.	40689.	3960.	12338.	264385.	
1886.	30121.	238386.	44055.	4659.	13580.	330801.	
1887.	44406.	296901.	35098.	5658.	14331.	396494.	1732815.
1888.	49107.	293087.	31725.	7705.	16870.	398494.	
1889.	38056.	240395.	28834.	15671.	19685.	342641.	
1890.	31897.	233522.	21570.	12083.	16908.	315980.	
1891.	33752.	252016.	19957.	10686.	18132.	334543.	
1892.	41866.	235221.	16183.	11641.	16486.	321397.	1506380.
1893.	50381.	213212.	11412.	16158.	16470.	307633.	
1894.	23633.	159431.	11151.	16760.	15852.	226827.	
1895.	22357.	195632.	10809.	25988.	16986.	271772.	
1896.	22590.	154496.	10710.	35840.	18316.	241952.	
1897.	22669.	132048.	12396.	28801.	17366.	213280.	1172871.
1898.	27487.	123703.	11020.	25635.	17326.	205171.	
1899.	33669.	159143.	12268.	18863.	16753.	240696.	
1900.	50007.	189391.	15723.	25518.	17922.	298561.	
1901.	42898.	194941.	15754.	28553.	20429.	302575.	
1902.	67600.	232099.	14675.	51886.	20519.	386779.	1890798.
1903.	99582.	251914.	12573.	62824.	22086.	449006.	

APPENDIX. I. CONTINUED.

Year.	British N. America.	United States.	Australia & New Zealand.	Cape of Good Hope & Natal Places.	All Other Places.	Total Each Year.	Total Five Years.
904.	91684.	291945.	14210.	32278.	23760.	453877.	2513137.
905.	108118.	276636.	15488.	31166.	28254.	459662.	
906.	141786.	338612.	19589.	26323.	31427.	557737.	
907.	185831.	366396.	25067.	23264.	31391.	634949.	
908.	95428.	198321.	33900.	21944.	36818.	386411.	
909.	113318.	259933.	38350.	24649.	38128.	474378.	1899119 <i>(Thirteen years)</i>
910.	196305.	303364.	46246.	30838.	42106.	618859.	
911.	213361.	250969.	81294.	34528.	43273.	623425.	
912.	219136.	262066.	97464.	31888.	46281.	656835.	

These statistics have been collected from the Customs Returns prior to the appointment of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in 1840. From 1840 to 1872 the statistics are to be found in the annual reports of the Commissioners. Since 1872 the returns have been furnished by the Board of Trade. The figures in this appendix refer to the total outward movement of passengers. In the Customs returns no account is taken of ships which did not obtain the Customs clearance before sailing, and there is little doubt that the number of emigrants was larger than the returns in this table. In the later periods the number of emigrants would be much less than the figures in the table owing to the great increase in tourist traffic. From 1876 an attempt was made to arrive at the number of actual emigrants by deducting the number of ~~inward~~ passengers from the outward passengers. This was a very imperfect method, as no account was taken of the different character of the inward and outward passengers. In 1912 account was taken of those actually departing with a view to permanent settlement overseas. The statistics for 1913 would indicate that the number of emigrants was much larger than the balance of passengers outward, and a study of the character of the passengers would lead one to expect this result, but the outbreak of war so soon after this method was adopted makes the new statistics of little value. See appendix *XL*.

APPENDIX. II.

EMIGRATION; BRITISH AND IRISH ONLY. (passengers outward) 1853-1920.

year	United States.	%	British North America.	%	Australia. & New Zealand.	%	All other places.	%	Total
1853	190952	69%	31179.	11%	54818.	20%	580.		278129.
1854	153627	58%	35679.	13%	77526.	29%	215.		267047.
1855.	86239.	57%	16110.	11%	47284.	32%	390.		150023.
1856.	94931.	64%	11299.	8%	41329.	28%	725.		148284.
1857.	105516.	58%	16803.	9%	57858.	32%	874.	1%	181051.
1858.	49356.	52%	6504.	7%	36454.	38%	2753.	3%	95067.
1859.	57096.	59%	2469.	3%	28604.	29%	8924.	9%	97093.
1860.	67879.	71%	2765.	3%	21434.	22%	3911.	4%	95989.
Total (8 years)	805569.	61%	123408.	10%	365307.	28%	18372.	1%	1312683.

1861.	38160.	58%	3953	6%.	20597.	32%	2487.	4%	65197.
1862.	48726.	50%	8328	8%.	38828.	40%	1881.	2%	97762.
1863.	130528.	68%	9665.	5%	50157.	26%	2514.	1%	192864.
1864.	130165.	70%	11371.	6%	40073.	21%	5472.	3%	187081.
1865.	118463.	68%	14424.	8%	36683.	21%	5321.	3%	174891.
1866.	131840.	77%	9988.	6%	23682.	14%	4543.	3%	170053.
1867.	126051.	80%	12160.	8%	14023.	9%	4748.	3%	156982.
1868.	108490.	78%	12332.	9%	12332.	9%	5033.	4%	138187.
1869.	146737.	79%	20921.	11%	14457.	8%	4185.	2%	186300.
1870.	153466.	76%	27168.	13%	16526.	8%	5351.	3%	202511.
Total 1861-70.	1132626.	72%.	130310.	8%	267358.	17%	41535.	3%	1571829.
10 Years.	-----								

1871.	150788.	78%	24954.	13%	11695.	6%	5314.	3%	192751.
1872.	161782.	77%	24382.	12%	15248.	7%	9084.	4%	210494.
1873.	166730.	73%	29045.	13%	25137.	11%	7433.	3%	228345.
1874.	113774.	58%	20728.	10%	52581.	27%	10189.	5%	197272.
1875.	81893.	58%	12306.	9%	34750.	24%	12424.	9%	140675.
1876.	54554.	50%	9335.	9%	32196.	29%	13384.	12%	109469.
1877.	45481.	48%	7720.	8%	30138.	32%	11856.	12%	95195.
1878.	54694.	49%	10652.	9%	36479.	32%	11077.	10%	112902.
1879.	91806.	56%	17952.	11%	40959.	25%	13557.	8%	164274.
1880.	166570.	73%	20902.	9%	24184.	11%	15886.	7%	227541.
Total 1871-80.	1087372.	65%	177976.	11%	303367.	18%	110204.	6%	1678919.
10 years.									

1881.	176104.	73%	23912.	10%	22682.	9%	20304.	8%	243002.
1882.	181903.	65%	40441.	15%	37289.	13%	19733.	7%	279366.
1883.	191573.	60%	44185.	14%	71264.	22%	13096.	4%	320118.
1884.	155280.	64%	31134.	13%	44255.	18%	11510.	5%	242179.
1885.	137687.	66%	19838.	10%	39395.	19%	10724.	5%	207644.
1886.	152710.	66%	24745.	11%	43076.	18%	12369.	5%	232900.
1887.	201526.	72%	32025.	11%	34183.	12%	13753.	5%	281487.
1888.	195986.	70%	34853.	13%	31127.	11%	17962.	6%	279928.
1889.	168771.	67%	28269.	11%	28294.	11%	28461.	11%	253795.
1890.	152413.	70%	22520.	10%	21179.	10%	22004.	10%	218116.
Total. 1881-90. (10 years)	1713953.	67%	301922.	12%	372744.	14%	169916.	7%	2558535.

Year.	United States.	%.	British North America.	%.	Australia & N. Zealand	%.	Cape of Good Hope & Natal.	%.	All other places	%.	Total
1891.	156395.	72%	21578.	10%	19547.	9%	9090.	4%	11897.	5%	218507.
1892.	150039.	71%	23254.	11%	15950.	8%	9891.	5%	10908.	5%	210042.
1893.	148949.	72%	24732.	12%	11203.	5%	13097.	6%	10833.	5%	208814.
1894.	104001.	67%	17459.	11%	10917.	7%	13177.	8%	10476.	7%	156030.
1895.	126502.	68%	16622.	9%	10567.	6%	20234.	11%	11256.	6%	185181.
1896.	98921.	61%	15267.	10%	10345.	6%	24594.	15%	12789.	8%	161925.
1897.	85324.	58%	15571.	11%	12061.	8%	21109.	14%	12395.	9%	146460.
1898.	80494.	57%	17640.	12%	84241.	8%	19756.	14%	12061.	9%	140644.
1899.	92482.	63%	16410.	11%	11467.	8%	14432.	10%	11571.	8%	146362.
1900.	102797.	61%	18443.	11%	14922.	9%	20815.	12%	11848.	7%	168825.
Total	1742781.	65%	186976.	11%	127672.	7%	166195.	10%	116034.	7%	1742790.
1890-1900 10 years.											
1901.	104195.	61%	15757.	9%	15350.	9%	23413.	13%	13270.	8%	171715.
1902.	108498.	53%	26293.	13%	14345.	7%	43206.	21%	13320.	6%	205662.
1903.	123663.	48%	59652.	23%	12375.	5%	50206.	19%	14054.	5%	259950.
1904.	146445.	54%	69681.	26%	13910.	5%	26818.	10%	14581.	5%	271435.
1905.	122370.	47%	82437.	31%	15139.	6%	26307.	10%	15824.	6%	262077.
1906.	144817.	45%	114859.	35%	19331.	6%	22804.	7%	23326.	7%	325137.
1907.	170264.	43%	151216.	38%	24767.	6%	20925.	6%	28508.	7%	395680.
1908.	96869.	37%	81321.	31%	33569.	13%	19568.	7%	31872.	12%	263199.
1909.	109700.	38%	85887.	30%	37620.	13%	22017.	8%	33537.	11%	288761.
1910.	132192.	33%	156900.	39%	45701.	12%	27297.	7%	35668.	9%	397848.
Total	1259013.	46%	844003.	28%	233107.	8%	282561.	11%	223960.	7%	2841464.
1901-10 10 years.											
1911.	121814.	27%	184860.	40%	80770.	18%	30767.	7%	36316.	8%	454527.
1912.	117310.	25%	186147.	40%	96800.	21%	28216.	6%	39193.	8%	467666.
Total	239124.	26%	371007.	40%	177570.	19%	58983.	7%	75509.	8%	922193.
2 years.											
GRAND											
TOTAL	7980438.	60%	2,135,602.	16%	1,847,125.	14%	507,739.	4%	755,530.	6%	12,628,413.
SIXTY YEARS.											

These statistics have been taken from the returns of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, and of the Board of Trade, and have been arranged in ten year periods. Before 1853 no account was taken of the nationality of the Emigrants.

APPENDIX. III.

ALL PASSENGERS INWARD FROM THE PRINCIPAL NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. 1880-1912

YEAR.	UNITED STATES.	BRITISH N. AMERICA.	AUSTRALIA & CAPE OF GOOD HOPE & NATAL.	ALL OTHER PLACES.	TOTAL
1880.	45488.	5084.	6290.	11454.	68316.
1881.	51197.	6199.	6308.	13401.	77105.
1882.	53415.	6714.	7318.	7387.	82804.
1883.	70560.	7280.	7155.	8775.	100503.
1884.	91016.	9167.	8694.	8343.	123465.
1885.	81450.	10079.	8272.	8276.	113549.
1886.	78708.	7532.	9366.	8806.	108879.
1887.	88948.	7034.	10592.	8815.	119013.
1888.	95474.	9104.	10632.	9536.	128879.
1889.	111696.	9027.	10637.	10336.	147398.
1890.	115861.	10414.	10385.	11643.	155910.
1891.	112347.	9598.	9853.	12658.	151369.
1892.	103718.	10323.	10793.	11719.	143747.
1893.	100622.	10593.	10390.	11714.	141054.
1894.	145406.	11472.	9385.	11583.	185799.
1895.	130798.	12134.	9888.	13039.	175674.
1896.	110076.	11302.	9535.	12874.	159913.
1897.	103995.	12749.	7702.	12946.	155114.
1898.	89439.	12642.	7315.	12880.	139346.
1899.	106561.	10293.	7777.	13220.	162111.
1900.	120985.	14753.	8865.	13944.	175747.
1901.	113149.	10927.	9098.	14156.	165018.
1902.	113878.	14300.	10156.	15611.	170874.
1903.	131968.	18389.	8778.	15648.	199685.
1904.	160881.	24343.	8874.	16379.	241896.
1905.	127952.	26860.	8062.	16223.	205193.
1906.	137291.	34287.	9604.	19143.	230165.
1907.	171642.	53477.	11182.	28042.	293633.
1908.	205233.	63079.	13448.	34276.	342922.
1909.	144002.	46786.	12681.	36074.	261325.
1910.	163949.	61600.	13285.	38884.	298779.
1911.	191331.	78905.	15227.	39343.	350429.
1912.	171727.	83656.	17361.	42084.	340696.

APPENDIX. IV.

PASSENGERS INWARD. BRITISH NATIONALITY ONLY. 1880-1912.

YEAR.	UNITED STATES.	BRITISH N. AMERICA.	AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND.	CAPE OF GOOD HOPE & NATAL.	ALL OTHER PLACES.	TOTAL.
1880.	26518.	4688.	5910.		9891.	47007.
1881.	29781.	5761.	5877.		11288.	52707.
1882.	28468.	6097.	6871.	6499.	6776.	54711.
1883.	46703.	7021.	6844.	5913.	7323.	73804.
1884.	61466.	8861.	8312.	5460.	7257.	91356.
1885.	57604.	9321.	7946.	4574.	6023.	85468.
1886.	52909.	7167.	8980.	3842.	7172.	80018.
1887.	58343.	6848.	10258.	3086.	6940.	85475.
1888.	64031.	8817.	10387.	3481.	7417.	94133.
1889.	71392.	8642.	10438.	4869.	7729.	103070.
1890.	74740.	9525.	10223.	3507.	8475.	109470.
1891.	68808.	9000.	9712.	5753.	9764.	103037.
1892.	62698.	9312.	10606.	6147.	9019.	97780.
1893.	67428.	9159.	10198.	6491.	8843.	102119.
1894.	83523.	10256.	9106.	6866.	8558.	118309.
1895.	71059.	10671.	9608.	8304.	9776.	109418.
1896.	59212.	9539.	9348.	14161.	9482.	101742.
1897.	53635.	9940.	7505.	14951.	9190.	95221.
1898.	50728.	9794.	7066.	14092.	9574.	91248.
1899.	53643.	8395.	7578.	20621.	10009.	100246.
1900.	54819.	10640.	8663.	13398.	10117.	97637.
1901.	58312.	8636.	8780.	14206.	9765.	99699.
1902.	56881.	11563.	9979.	15162.	10530.	104115.
1903.	58271.	13786.	8682.	22189.	9986.	112944.
1904.	79655.	18397.	8670.	27651.	10208.	144581.
1905.	61373.	19934.	7888.	23086.	10431.	122712.
1906.	58876.	23596.	9411.	25964.	12619.	130466.
1907.	70320.	33691.	10871.	25712.	19994.	160588.
1908.	65418.	39866.	13146.	24348.	29265.	172043.
1909.	53323.	33509.	12418.	19539.	30279.	149068.
1910.	58623.	41309.	12976.	18983.	32248.	164139.
1911.	72082.	50095.	15001.	23240.	32300.	192718.
1912.	71493.	52586.	17074.	23983.	34045.	199181.

APPENDIX.V.

EXCESS OF OUTWARD OVER INWARD PASSENGER MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.ALL PASSENGERS. 1880-1912.

YEAR.	BRITISH N.AMERICA.	AUST N.Z.	CAPE & OTHER NATAL	OTHER BRITISH POSSESSIONS.	ALL BRIT POSSESSIONS.	TO U.S.A.	OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES	ALL TOTAL F.C.
1880.	24256.	19148.		8788		211786.		263978.
1881.	28362.	17785.		12486.		256776.	†	315409.
1882.	46761.	31286.	6227.	4086.		242142.		330484.
1883.	46286.	65862.	-20.	2860.		181666.		296654.
1884.	27876.	37250.	-1547.	4353.		112503.		180435.
1885.	12849.	32417.	-1512.	4062.		103020.		150836.
1886.	22589.	34689.	192.	4774.		159678.		221922.
1887.	37372.	24606.	2034.	* 5516.		207953.		277481.
1888.	40003.	21093.	3599.	7307.		197613.		269615.
1889.	29029.	18197.	9966.	9349.		128702.		195243.
1890.	21483.	11185.	4476.	5265.		117661.		160070.
1891.	24154.	10104.	3773.	5474.		139669.		183174.
1892.	31543.	P 5390.	4447.	4767.		131503.		177650.
1893.	39788.	1022.	8423.	4756.		112590.		166579.
1894.	12161.	1766.	8807.	3950.	26684.	14025.	319.14344.	41028.
1895.	10223.	921.	16173.	2875.	30192.	P 64834.	1072.65609.	96098.
1896.	11288.	1175.	19714.	3933.	36110.	44421.	1509.45929.	82039.
1897.	9920.	4694.	11079.	4150.	29843.	28053.	270.28323.	58166.
1898.	14845.	3705.	8565.	4461.	31576.	34264.	-15.34249.	65825.
1899.	23376.	4491.	-5397.8	3541.	26011.	52582.	-8.52574.	78585.
1900.	35354.	6858.	8318.	4264.	54694.	68406.	-286.68120.	122814.
1901.	31971.	6656.	10865.	4747.	54239.	81792.	1526.83318.	137557.
1902.	53300.	4519.	34957.	4232.	97008.	118221.	676.118897.	215905.
1903.	81893.	3795.	37922.	5555.	128465.	119973.	883.120856.	249321.
1904.	67341.	5336.	859.	5597.	79133.	131064.	1784.132848.	211981.
1905.	81258.	7426.	5070.	6704.	100458.	148684.	5327.154011.	254469.
1906.	107499.	9985.	-3517.	6770.	120737.	201321.	5514.206835.	327572.
1907.	132354.	P ² 13885.	-6026.	3008.	143321.	194754.	3341.198095.	341316.
1908.	32349.	20452.	-4942.	1219.	49078.	-6912.	1323. -5598.	43489.
1909.	66532.	25669.	2867.	1187.	96255.	115931.	867.116798.	213053.
1910.	134705.	32961.	9777.	1923.	179366.	139415.	1299.140714.	320080.
1911.	134456.	66067.	8905.	2110.	211538.	59638.	1820. 61458.	272996.
1912.	135480.	80103.	5020.	2379.	222982.	91339.	1818 93157.	316139.

* These figures include the balance of the passenger movement with unspecified foreign countries, as well as with unspecified British Possessions.

† Included with "Other British Possessions", further details not being available.

8 South African War

P Depression in the United States.

P Fall due to opposition of the Australian Labour Party to immigration, and unfavourable seasons.

P² Rise due to greater desire for immigrants, and improved conditions.

Note. The minus sign, when it occurs, denotes a balance inward.

EXCESS OF OUTWARD OVER INWARD PASSENGER MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. BRITISH NATIONALITY ONLY. 1880-1912.

YEAR.	BRITISH N.AMERICA.	AUST & N.Z.	CAPE & NATAL.	OTHER BRITISH POSSESSIONS	ALL BRIT POSSESSIONS	TO U.S.A.	OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES.	ALL F. C.	TOTAL
1880.	16214.	18274.		5995.	40483.	140052.	140052.	180535.	
1881.	18151.	16805.		9016.	43972.	146323.	146323.	190295.	
1882.	34344.	30418.	5564.	894.	71220.	153435.	153435.	224655.	
1883.	37164.	64620.	-171.	31.	101444.	144870.	144870.	246314.	
1884.	22273.	35943.	-1506.	299.	57009.	93814.	93814.	150823.	
1885.	10517.	31449.	-1306.	1433.	42093.	80083.	80083.	122176.	
1886.	17578.	34096.	55.	1352.	53081.	99801.	99801.	152882.	
1887.	25177.	23925.	1823.	1904.	52829.	143183.	143183.	196012.	
1888.	26036.	20740.	2085.	4079.	53840.	131955.	131955.	185795.	
1889.	19627.	17856.	9015.	6848.	53346.	97379.	97379.	150725.	
1890.	12995.	10956.	3814.	3208.	30973.	77673.	77673.	108646.	
1891.	12578.	9835.	3337.	2133.	27883.	87587.	87587.	115470.	
1892.	13944.	5344.	3744.	1889.	24921.	87341.	87341.	112262.	
1893.	15573.	1005.	6606.	1990.	25174.	81521.	81521.	106695.	
1894.	7203.	1811.	6311.	2074.	17399.	20478.	-156.	20322.	37721.
1895.	5951.	959.	11930.	1028.	19868.	55443.	452.	55895.	75763.
1896.	5728.	1006.	10433.	2323.	19490.	39709.	984.	40693.	60183.
1897.	5631.	4556.	6158.	2627.	18972.	31689.	578.	32267.	51239.
1898.	7846.	3633.	5664.	2541.	19684.	29766.	-54.	29712.	49396.
1899.	8015.	3889.	-6189.	1602.	7317.	38839.	-40.	38799.	46116.
1900.	7803.	6259.	7417.	1959.	23438.	47978.	-228.	47750.	71188.
1901.	7121.	6570.	8937.	2611.	25239.	45883.	894.	46777.	72016.
1902.	14730.	4366.	28044.	2552.	49692.	51617.	238.	51855.	101547.
1903.	45866.	3693.	28017.	3460.	81036.	65392.	608.	66000.	147036.
1904.	51284.	5240.	-833.	3848.	59539.	66790.	525.	67315.	126854.
1905.	62503.	7251.	3221.	4084.	77059.	60997.	1309.	62306.	139365.
1906.	91263.	9920.	-3160.	7155.	105178.	85941.	3552.	89493.	194671.
1907.	117525.	13896.	-4787.	4799.	131433.	99944.	3751.	103659.	235092.
1908.	41455.	20423.	-4780.	1494.	58592.	31451.	1113.	32564.	91156.
1909.	52378.	25202.	2478.	1664.	81722.	56377.	1594.	57971.	139693.
1910.	115681.	32725.	8314.	2158.	158878.	73569.	1262.	74831.	233709.
1911.	134765.	65769.	7527.	2321.	210382.	49732.	1695.	51427.	261809.
1912.	133561.	79726.	4233.	2468.	219988.	45817.	2680.	48497.	268485.

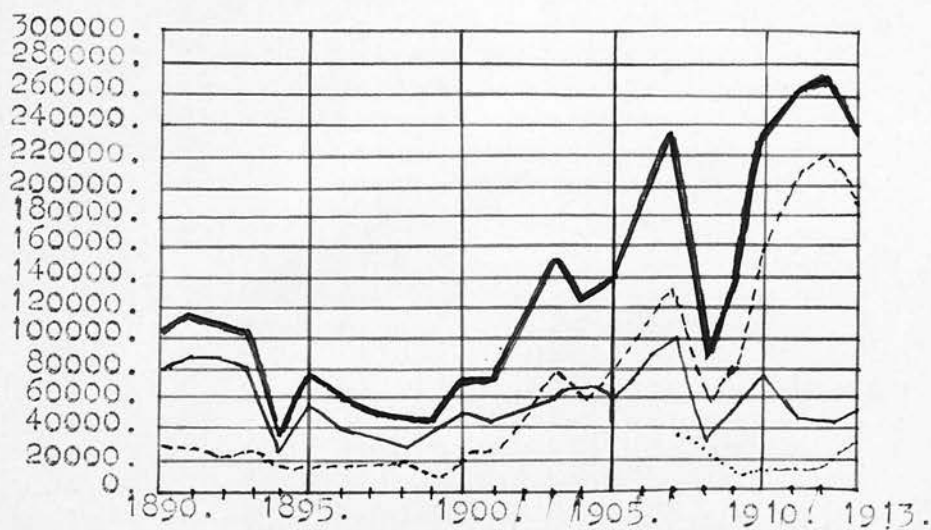
The figures given under these headings for 1893 and previous years are only approximately correct, being based on the assumption that the outward balance of passengers to all other places out of Europe was entirely accounted for by places within the Empire. As regards this assumption it is to be noted that the great bulk of the balance is accounted for by the British East Indies.

Note the large increase in the number of emigrants going to places within the Empire prior to the outbreak of war.

The minus sign, where it occurs, denotes a balance inward.

APPENDIX.VI.B. DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING MOVEMENT OF EXCESS OF OUTWARD PASSENGERS OF BRITISH NATIONALITY. 1890-1913.

Total to all countries. ———
 Total to foreign countries. ———
 Total to British Empire. - - - - -
 Net inward movement of aliens.



This diagram, which has been taken from the Final Report of the Dominions Royal Commission, illustrates the violent fluctuations in the emigration movement from the British Isles. During the twenty years before the war the tendency was, on the whole, upward. The increase in the number remaining within the Empire is noticeable. The net immigration of aliens was very small in comparison with the net outward movement of British subjects.

APPENDIX. VII.

CABIN AND STEERAGE PASSENGERS TO NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. 1876-1912.

YEAR	CABIN.	STEERAGE.	TOTAL.
1876.	41900.	96322	138222.
1877.	37147.	82824.	119971.
1878.	43168.	104495.	147663.
1879.	43928.	173235.	217163.
1880.	56734.	281560.	332294.
1881.	54270.	338244.	392514.
1882.	56739.	356549.	413288.
1883.	55840.	341317.	397157.
1884.	57403.	246498.	303901.
1885.	51428.	212957.	264385.
1886.	59382.	271419.	330801.
1887.	60754.	335740.	396494.
1888.	65658.	332836.	398494.
1889.	77097.	265544.	342641.
1890.	76081.	239899.	315980.
1891.	74281.	260262.	334543.
1892.	78142.	243255.	321397.
1893.	69986.	237647.	307633.
1894.	68829.	157998.	226827.
1895.	76893.	194879.	271772.
1896.	77921.	164040.	241925.
1897.	75463.	137817.	213280.
1898.	68800.	136371.	205171.
1899.	74170.	166526.	240696.
1900.	86914.	211647.	302575. 298561
1901.	85288.	217287.	302575.
1902.	91962.	294817.	386779.
1903.	93942.	355064.	449006.
1904.	86938.	366939.	453877.
1905.	93785.	365877.	459662.
1906.	97674.	460063.	557737.
1907.	110041.	524908.	634949.

	First Class	Second Class.	Third Class.	Total.
1908	84687.	107978.	193746.	386411.
1909.	88572.	117613.	268193.	474378.
1910.	102256.	151404.	365199.	618859.
1911.	96346.	169341.	357738.	623425.
1912.	97050.	169095.	390690.	656835.

Note the steadiness of the movement of cabin/passengers as compared with the steerage. These figures support the contention that emigration varies with economic pressure. The figures for the First and Second Class passengers in the later years also show X that in these years there was a large emigration which was not due directly to distress and which would be accounted for by the large number of young people who emigrated in the hope of advancement. Of course the increase in the tourist movement must also be borne in mind.

APPENDIX.VIII.

REMITTANCES BY EMIGRANTS TO FRIENDS IN THE BRITISH ISLES. 1848-1880.

From the United States and British North America.	
1848.	£460000.
1849.	540000.
1850.	957000.
1851.	990000.
1852.	1404000.
1853.	1439000.
1854.	1730000.
1855.	873000.
1856.	951000.
1857.	593165.
1858.	472610.
1859.	520019.
1860.	534476.
1861.	374061.
1862.	360578.
1863.	383286. In this year the sum of
1864.	332172. £44123. was remitted from
1865.	481580. America and Australia but
1866.	498028. the amount from each cannot be
1867.	543029. specified.
1868.	530564.
1869.	639335.
1870.	727408.
1871.	702488.
1872.	749664.
1873.	724040.
1874.	485566.
1875.	354356.
1876.	449641.
1877.	667564.
1878.	784067.
1879.	855631.
1880.	1403341.
<hr/>	
Total	£23510669.

In addition to the remittances from North America, the following sums were remitted from Australia and other places.

1875.	£ 7999
1876.	25745.
1877.	57052.
1878.	51602.
1879.	51378.
1880.	71407.

These are the amounts remitted through the principal finance houses, and, especially in the later years the returns were far from being complete. No attempt was made after 1880 to make a combined return of the remittances, but the larger figures from 1877 would indicate that there was an increase in the amount remitted during the period of depression in the British Isles which commenced in 1875. The greater part of these remittances was sent by Irish emigrants who had settled in the United States, and had a very vital effect on Irish emigration.

AUSTRALIA. STATE ASSISTED IMMIGRATION. 1851-1914.

DECADE. BBB	NEW SOUTH WALES.	QUEENSLAND.	SOUTH AUSTRALIA.	TASMANIA.	VICTORIA.	WESTERN AUSTRALIA.	TOTAL.
1851-60.	71649.	-	48905.	16636.	87963.	-	225153.
1861-70.	18212.	1617.	13730.	1852.	46594.	-	82605.
1871-80.	24412.	50728.	25415.	477.	5545.	889.	107520.
1881-90.	34079.	103140.	7295.	2737.	2.	4552.	151805.
1891-00.	659.	6177.	-	-	-	1566.	8402.
1900-10	5058.	6918.	-	-	1690.	4049.	17715.
1913.	9863.	4757.	2759.	-	12146.	7708.	37233.
1914.	5624.	4096.	644.	-	7496.	1729.	19609.

1832-1850= 62916 immigrants were assisted to New South Wales,

TABLE. 2.

AUSTRALIA. NET IMMIGRATION. BALANCE OF ARRIVALS OVER DEPARTURES.

YEAR.	NEW SOUTH WALES.	VICTORIA.	QUEENSLAND.	SOUTH AUSTRALIA.	WEST TASMANIA.	NORTH FEDERAL TERRITORY.	ERN TER.	TOTAL.
1861-65.	11562.	5656.	52855.	16263.	4165.	-4355.	In In	86146.
1866-70.	33309.	30218.	15041.	965.	1699.	-813.	South New	80419.
1871-75.	29741.	-5595.	37423.	4607.	-98.	-4416.	Aust. South	61662.
1876-80.	73459.	-5865.	21684.	38033.	-49.	2880.	returns	130142.
1881-85.	109863.	27786.	82393.	-2082.	3658.	2422.	to Wales	225040.
1886-90.	52565.	86231.	33325.	-24205.	8179.	2606.	1900 return	158701.
1890-95.	21464.	-46848.	-4666.	471.	47201.	-4562.	to	22392.
1896-00.	-997.	-63582.	-9022.	-15866.	68996.	4914.	1911.	2487.
1900-05	17273.	-59955.	-1903.	-19479.	50420.	-2497.	-616.	-16793.
1906-10.	20547.	9410.	20071.	14993.	2578.	-9707.	-514.	57228.
1911-12.	71934.	42136.	15152.	8460.	18775.	-3904.	242.	246.153041.
Total.	444684.	19592.	289729.	22160.	205524.	-17532.	-888.	246.959515.

The minus sign denotes excess of departures.

APPENDIX. X.

DOMINION IMMIGRATION RETURNS.

IMMIGRANTS INTO CANADA. DECLARED SETTLERS. 1897-1919. Taken from the statistics of the Department of the Interior.

YEAR.	IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS FROM UNITED KINGDOM.	UNITED STATES.	OTHER COUNTRIES.	TOTAL.
1897.	11383.	2412.	7921.	21716.
1898.	11173.	9119.	11608.	31900.
1899.	10660.	11945.	21938.	44543.
1900.	5141.	8543.	10211.	23895.
1901.	11810.	17987.	19352.	49149.
1902.	17259.	26388.	23732.	67379.
1903.	41792.	49473.	37099.	128364.
1904.	50374.	45171.	34786.	130331.
1905.	65359.	43543.	37364.	146266.
1906.	86796.	57796.	44472.	189064.
1907.	55791.	24659.	34217.	124667.
1908.	120182.	58312.	83978.	262469.
1909.	52901.	59832.	34175.	146908.
1910.	59790.	103798.	45206.	208794.
1911.	123013.	121451.	66620.	311084.
1912.	138121.	133710.	82406.	354237.
1913.	150542.	139009.	112881.	402432.
1914.	142622.	107530.	134726.	384878.
1915.	43276.	59779.	41734.	144789.
1916.	8664.	36537.	2936.	48537.
1917.	8282.	61389.	5703.	75374.
1918.	3178.	71314.	4582.	79074.
1919.	9914.	40715.	7073.	57702.

The figures for 1897-1899 are for the calendar year, those for 1900 are for the six months January to June, those for 1901-1906 are for the year ending June, those for 1907 are for the ~~year~~ nine months to March 31st, and the remaining figures are for the year ending March 31st.

Note the large immigration from other countries, which were chiefly southern and eastern European countries, also the large numbers of settlers from the United States, and their continued arrival during the war years. In this respect Canada was more favourably situated than the other British Dominions, but these settlers form a very slight counter-balance to the loss of immigrants from the British Isles, and of her own sons who fell in the war.

DOMINION IMMIGRATION RETURNS.

AUSTRALIA.

YEAR.	PASSENGERS ARRIVED.	PASSENGERS DEPARTED. ^{1.}
1904.	46336.	50791.
1905.	48836.	50504.
1906.	54164.	55936.
1907.	68638.	63443.
1908.	72208.	66771.
1909.	83609.	61826.
1910.	95692.	65780.
1911.	141909.	72609.
1912.	166958.	83217.
1913.	141906.	87134.

1.Allowance is made in these figures for unrecorded departures.

NEW ZEALAND.

YEAR. PASSENGERS ARRIVED. PASSENGERS DEPARTED.

1903.	30883.	19608.
1904.	32632.	22277.
1905.	32685.	23383.
1906.	39233.	26385.
1907.	36108.	30378.
1908.	44970.	30709.
1909.	38650.	33931.
1910.	35769.	32361.
1911.	41389.	37189.
1912.	44660.	35733.
1913.	44588.	30369.
1914.	37646.	32506.
1915.	25551.	22476.
1916.	21799.	21163.
1917.	15649.	13869.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

PASSENGERS YEAR. ARRIVED.	PASSENGERS DEPARTED	PASSENGERS YEAR. ARRIVED.	PASSENGERS DEPARTED (at ocean ports)
1901. 24416.	13820.	1910. 31281.	26913.
1902. 43284.	15097.	1911. 55127.	46200.
1903. 55818.	22913.	1912. 42026.	42197.
1904. 26489.	28008.	1913. 39827.	42744.
1905. 28373.	29357.	1914. 34027.	42634.
1906. 28536.	35576.	1915. 17487.	27220.
1907. 25345.	34928.	1916. 13096.	23167.
1908. 22625.	28267.	1917. 6858.	11988.
1909. 25374.	24639.		

The figures for 1911 and the following years are for the Union.

EMIGRATION RETURNS. 1913-1915.

TABLE. I.

EMIGRANTS FROM AND IMMIGRANTS TO THE BRITISH ISLES. BRITISH SUBJECTS.

BRITISH EMPIRE.	EMIGRANTS			IMMIGRANTS.		
	1913.	1914.	1915.	1913.	1914.	1915.
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.	190854.	78570.	16765.	26288.	33684.	38811.
AUSTRALIA.	56779.	32425.	9393.	12351.	13515.	8298.
NEW ZEALAND.	14255.	7873.	2989.	2446.	2880.	1672.
BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA.	10916.	7785.	5700.	10541.	11289.	9102.
INDIA. (including Ceylon)	6810.	6962.	5035.	5923.	8138.	5605.
OTHER BRITISH COLONIES & POSSESSIONS	5432.	5141.	4349.	3971.	4991.	5141.
TOTAL.	285046.	138756.	44231.	61525.	74497.	68629.
FOREIGN COUNTRIES.						
UNITED STATES.	94691.	69655.	29406.	16619.	20444.	16153.
OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES.	9651.	6482.	3277.	7565.	9521.	7178.
TOTAL.	104348.	76137.	32683.	24184.	29965.	23331.
GRAND TOTAL.	389394.	214893.	76914.	85709.	104462.	91960.

1. The figures for these years are based on the returns of those who declared an intention of settling in the country of destination. In previous years the number of emigrants was arrived at by subtracting the arrivals from the departures. In Table 2. an account of British passenger movement is given for purposes of comparison.

TABLE. 2.

PASSENGER MOVEMENT. BRITISH SUBJECTS. 1913-1915.

BRITISH EMPIRE.	PASSENGERS OUT.			PASSENGERS IN			BALANCE OUT.		
	1913.	1914.	1915.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1913.	1914.	1915.
B.N.A.	196278.	94482.	19433.	68621.	64689.	31705.	127656.	29793.	-12272.
AUST.	64219.	40238.	11805.	18139.	19812.	9101.	46012.	20416.	2704.
N.Z.	13715.	7775.	3104.	2463.	2474.	1992.	11251.	5301.	1112.
B.S.A.	25855.	24124.	11704.	25478.	24653.	15017.	377.	-3529.	-3313.
INDIA.	10026.	12025.	7933.	8202.	11249.	7363.	1814.	776.	570.
O.B.C.	11357.	10371.	7829.	9828.	10204.	8431.	1525.	167.	-602.
TOTAL	321450.	186015.	61808.	132734.	133081.	73609.	188635.	52934.	-11801.
FOREIGN COUNTRIES									
U.S.A.	129169.	92808.	37752.	76939.	77171.	47325.	52155.	15637.	-9573.
O.F.C.	19021.	14381.	5337.	17824.	19618.	8889.	1207.	-5237.	-3522.
TOTAL	148190.	107189.	43109.	94763.	96789.	56214.	53362.	10400.	-13105.
G. TOTAL	469640.	293204.	104917.	227494.	229870.	129823.	241997.	63334.	-24906.

Note that there is a considerable difference between the balance outward of passengers of British nationality and the number signifying the intention of making their permanent residence abroad (Table. 1.) War conditions make the figures for 1914-15 of no value for purposes of comparison.

See Page. 202.

The minus sign denotes excess inward.

SOCIETIES PROMOTING EMIGRATION.-1886.

(a) GENERAL EMIGRATION.

- The British and Colonial Emigration Society. London.
The Central Emigration Society. London.
The Christian Home for Emigrants. London.
The Church Emigration Society. London.
The Clerkenwell and Central London Emigration Society.
The Colonial Emigration Society.
The East End Emigration Fund.
The East London Family Emigration Fund.
Miss J.E.Groom's Emigration Fund.
The Jewish Board of Guardians.
The Jews Emigration Society.
The Kensington Emigration Aid Society.
The London Colonisation Aid Society.
The London Samaritan Society.
The National Association For the Promotion of State-directed
Emigration and Colonisation.
The St Andrew's Waterside Church Mission.
The St Katherine's Mission Emigration Fund.
The Self Help Emigration Society.
The S.P.C.K.
The Bath Self Help Emigration Club.
The Brighton Emigration Society.
The Bristol Emigration Society.

The Crystal Palace Self Help Emigration Society.

The Young Men's Emigration Advice Society. Manchester.

Oldbury and Langley Self Help Emigration Club.

The Somerset and Bristol Colonial Emigration Association.

The Wimbledon Emigration Society.

The Winchester Emigration Loan Society.

The Scottish Emigrants' Aid Association.

(b) EMIGRATION OF WOMEN.

The British Ladies Female Emigrant Society.

Female Middle Class Emigration Society.

The Girls' Friendly Society.

The United Englishwomen's Emigration Society.

The Westminster Working Women's Home.

The Women's Emigration Society.

The Aberdeen Ladies Union.

(c) EMIGRATION OF CHILDREN.

Dr Barnardo's Homes.

The Boys' Home, Southwark St, London.

" " " Regent's Park Road."

The Children's Home.

The Church of England Central Society for providing Homes for Waifs and Strays. London.

The National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children.

Miss Rye's Home for Destitute Girls.

St George and Bloomsbury Refuge.

The St Vincent Home for Boys.London.

The Children's Emigration Homes,Birmingham.

The Canadian Home for Girls.Bristol.

The Catholic Childrens' Protection Society. Liverpool.

The Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges,and Childrens'
Aid Society

The Redhill Farm School.

The Orphan Homes of Scotland,and Destitute Childrens'Emigration Homes.

EMIGRATION BY SOCIETIES. 1908-1914.CHILDREN.

	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
Children's Emigration Homes Birmingham.	154.	128.	156.	173.	157.	125.	97.
Catholic Emigration Association.	308.	317.	333.	400.	321.	252.	253.
Children's Home, Bristol.	-	-	328.	-	1.	-	-
Mrs Smyly's Homes, Dublin.	-	22.	25.	37.	24.	31.	11.
The Sheltering Homes, Liverpool.	145.	166.	186.	200.	146.	170.	138.
Dr Barnardo's Homes.	943.	967.	977.	1008.	915.	828.	619.
Children's Aid Society.	45.	26.	24.	29.	34.	31.	29.
The National Children's Home & Orphanage.	no returns.						
Church of England Homes for Waifs & Strays	135.	77.	104.	134.	132.	140.	125.
Mr Fegan's Homes.	75.	99.	122.	144.	149.	132.	114.
Annie Macpherson Home of Industry.	176.	194.	210.	255.	215.	215.	175.
Manchester and Salford Boy's and Girl's Refuge and Children's Aid Society.	34.	37.	71.	59.	41.	61.	36.
Orphan Homes of Scotland.	163.	138.	188.	180.	184.	181.	151.
Child Emigration Society.	-	-	-	-	13.	22.	-

WOMEN.

Aberdeen Union of Women Workers.	-	-	28.	8.	3.	3.	5.
British Women's Emigration Association.	505.	600.	1057.	1196.	1381.	1194.	611.
South African Colonisation Society.	264.	275.	355.	379.	480.	460.	384.
" " Col! Soc. Scottish Branch.	"	45.	73.	73.	58.	-	-
Scottish Colonisation Society.	-	95.	140.	212.	197.	-	-
Bristol Emigration Society.	122.	105.	209.	365.	398.	245.	-

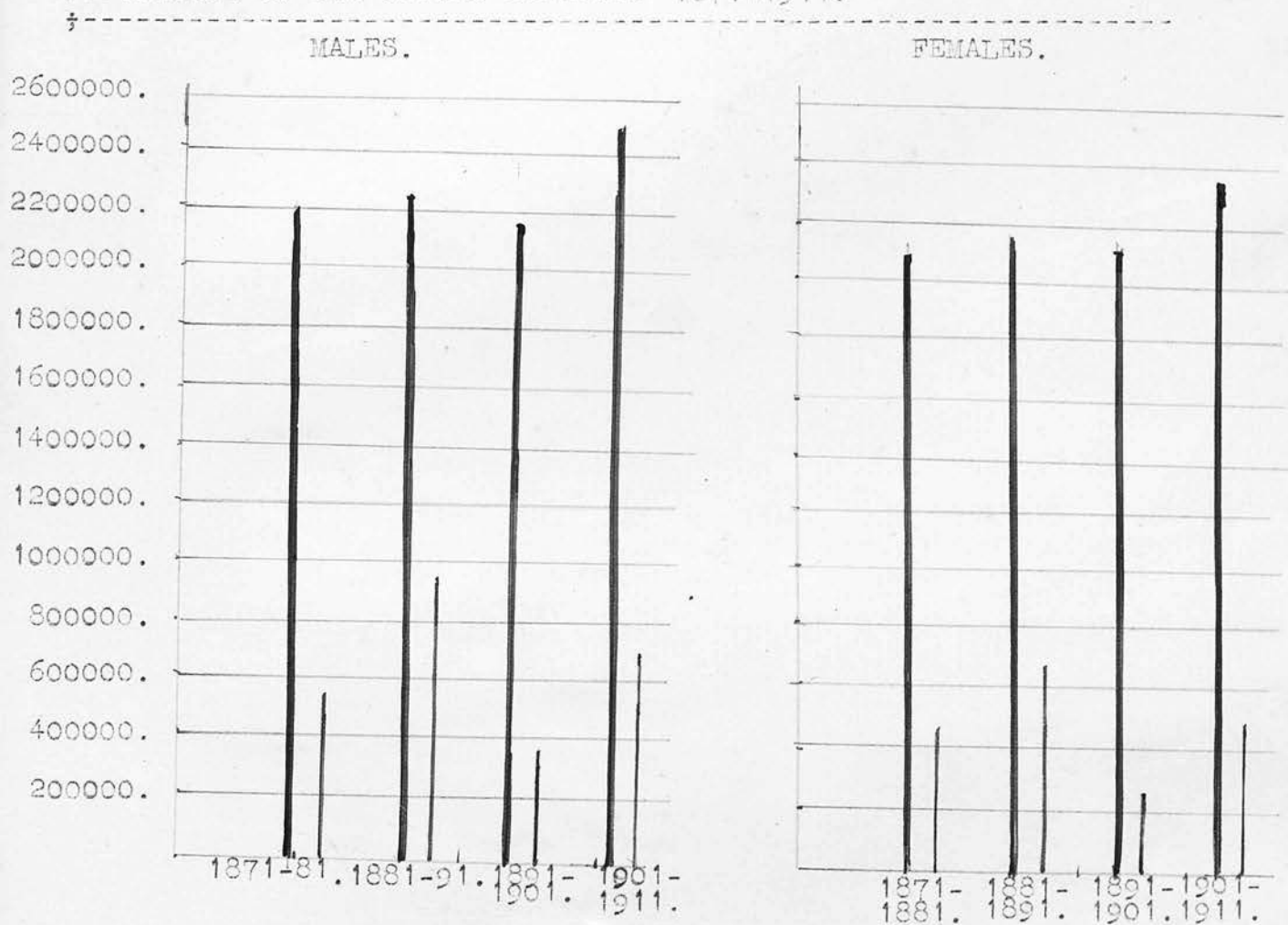
GENERAL EMIGRATION.

Liverpool Self Help Emigration Society.	-	17.	34.	21.	16.	9.	6.
Central Emigration Board.	76.	101.	238.	331.	604.	570.	156.
Church Army.	149.	160.	313.	323.	468.	559.	230.
Church Emigration Society.	438.	364.	601.	703.	463.	534.	218.
British Dominions Emigration Society.	859.	669.	1300.	1349.	1456.	1569.	594.
Jewish Board of Guardians.	118.	191.	200.	155.	146.	159.	75.
The Jews Emigration Society.	210.	206.	181.	178.	194.	214.	188.
Salvation Army Emigration Department.	7297.	3911.	8863.	9099.	8121.	8615.	4814.
Self Help Emigration Society.	170.	200.	552.	465.	353.	346.	108.
Tunbridge Wells Colonisation Ass.	55.	-	87.	260.	122.	164.	99.

These figures include not only those who were assisted financially but all who emigrated under the auspices of the Societies. Some were assisted wholly, others in part, and some paid their own expenses.

APPENDIX. XIII.

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN EMIGRATION AND THE INCREASE
OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. 1871-1911.



Excess of births over deaths.

Net migration.

During the period 1871-1911 only 27% of the natural increase of the male population is accounted for by emigration. Of the female population only 22% of the natural increase emigrated. Thus during the period prior to the war, in spite of a large emigration, and a declining birthrate, the population of the United Kingdom was increasing rapidly.